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Johannes Brahms was the first composer to claim the requiem genre without utilizing the Catholic *Missa pro defunctis* text. Brahms compiled passages from Luther's Bible for his 1868 *Ein deutsches Requiem,* texts that focused on comfort for the living rather than judgment and pleas for mercy on behalf of the deceased. The absence of the traditional text and the change in message created a discrepancy between the genre named in the title and the language and content of the text, and engendered debate concerning the work's genre classification. This unresolved debate affects understanding about the development of the genre after 1868.

This study applied semiotic theory to the question of genre classification for *Ein deutsches Requiem*. Marcel Danesi's *The Quest for Meaning: A Guide to Semiotic Theory and Practice* (2007) outlined a method for organizing information relevant to encoded meaning in signifiers such as signs, symbols, and icons. This theory was applied to *Ein deutsches Requiem* in order to uncover and document encoded meaning behind the word "requiem" in Brahms's title.

Robert Chase's *Dies Irae: A Guide to Requiem Music* (2003) and *Memento Mori: A Guide to Contemporary Memorial Music* (2007) provided data from the earliest requiem manuscripts to twenty-first century requiems. Analysis of these data resulted in clearly defined systems of convention related to the genre over time. Identification of the specific practices of requiem composers by era was foundational for an accurate description of the genre both before and after *Ein deutsches Requiem*.

This semiotic study examined “requiem” as a literal term and as a signifier, and defined its moment of signification as it relates to the musical genre. Consideration of historical, comparative, and cultural contexts described how communication through “requiem” as a symbol was achieved. Further analysis outlined the impact of this symbolic requiem on the genre after 1868. The question of genre classification was resolved, enabling a new understanding of the evolution of the requiem genre.

THE REQUIEM REINVENTED: BRAHMS'S *EIN DEUTSCHES REQUIEM* AND THE TRANSFORMATION FROM LITERAL TO SYMBOLIC

By

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[Semiotics] central aim is to investigate, decipher, document, and explain the what, how, *and* why *of signs, no matter how simple or complex they are.*
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Johannes Brahms's *Ein deutsches Requiem nach Worten der heiligen Schrift,* op. 45, was a progressive work within the requiem genre. Brahms's combination of music based on the requiem genre, a universally meaningful text, and a bold use of the word "requiem" in the title moved the requiem genre outside the bounds of a single denomination and renewed the relevance of the form. Brahms's work established a new precedent for the form and opened the door for composers to address death and mourning from an expanded and more universal perspective.

During the late nineteenth century Brahms was considered to be the most prominent conservative Romantic composer when compared with the innovation and public adoration of Richard Wagner. Brahms's interest in historical forms and his compositional approach through traditional musical structures stood in stark contrast to the composers who set out to transform music one work at a time. Brahms was considered to be a master of old forms while Wagner was viewed as a progressive.

> The only German composer of Wagner's lifetime who was big enough to stand with him on more or less equal footing was Johannes Brahms. But they are antipodal. Wagner was the revolutionary, the man of the future. Brahms was the classicist who dealt with abstract forms and never wrote a note of program music in his life, much less an opera. Wagner was to exert an enormous influence on the future. With Brahms the symphony as handed down by Beethoven, Mendelssohn,

> and Schumann came to an end. Brahms, like Bach, summed up an epoch. Unlike Bach, he contributed little to the development of music.[18]

This summary may represent an extreme viewpoint concerning the contributions of these two composers, yet the thrust of the argument is part of the lore of Romantic music history. Progressive elements in Brahms's music are brought to the forefront only with the hindsight of history and the research of musicologists.

The discrepancy between Brahms's title and his text has been viewed not as a progressive use of the requiem form but as an aberration, a work existing outside of the established genre. For some, the absence of the Latin text excludes *Ein deutsches Requiem* from the genre, despite the title.

> Because the text of the *German Requiem* is culled from various books of the Old and New Testaments and the Apocrypha, the prescription *Requiem* in the title *Ein deutsches Requiem nach Worten der heiligen Schrift,* is technically, as regards generic classification, a gross misprision.[19]

Other authors searched for another appropriate classification, refusing Brahms's indication of the work as a requiem. *Ein deutsches Requiem* has been termed a choral symphony,[20] a sacred cantata,[21] and "a symphony; but also a vast *Lied*."[22] Bozarth and

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[18] Harold C. Schonberg, *The Lives of the Great Composers,* Rev. ed. (New York: Norton & Company, 1981), 296.

[19] Maria Patricia O'Connor, "An Adornian Interpretation of Brahms' German Requiem," *Frankfurter Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft,* 8 (March 2005): 58.

[20] Alec Robertson, *Requiem: Music of Mourning and Consolation* (New York: Frederich A. Praeger, 1968), 179.

[21] David Eric Berg, *Choral Music and the Oratorio,* vol. 6 of *The Fundamentals of Musical Art,* edited by Edward Dickinson (New York: The Caxton Institute, 1927), 74.

Frisch identified a possible category and then backed away, leaving the issue unresolved: "Although it falls into the tradition of the sacred oratorio, the *Requiem*, which employs baritone and soprano soloists, belongs to no established genre."[23]

Few authors have highlighted the progressiveness of Brahms's use of the word "requiem" in relation to his work. In her 1971 dissertation, Kovalenko suggested that *Ein deutsches Requiem* signaled the start of a new genre, "a type of work which might be called … the secular requiem."[24] The classification of *Ein deutsches Requiem* as a secular work is arguable, since virtually every word of the text was taken from the Lutheran Bible. Still, no one else hailed Brahms's requiem as a pivotal work within the genre, one that impacted the composition, classification, and understanding of later works. Beller-McKenna documented the "German-ness" inherent in the work[25], Leaver traced the Protestant influences within the work[26], and Musgrave provided a thorough musical analysis[27], but no one recognized *Ein deutsches Requiem* as an innovative and pivotal

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[22] Percy Young, *The Choral Tradition: An Historical and Analytical Survey from Sixteenth Century to the Present Day,* Rev. ed. (London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1981), 241.

[23] George S. Bozarth and Walter Frisch, "Brahms, Johannes," in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/51879pg10> (accessed November 12, 2008).

[24] Susan Chaffins Kovalenko, "The Twentieth-Century Requiem: An Emerging Concept" (PhD diss., Washington University, 1971), in Dissertations & Theses: Full Text [database on-line]; available from http://www.proquest.com (publication number AAT 7407050; accessed September 29, 2009), 5.

[25] Daniel Beller-McKenna, *Brahms and the German Spirit* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004).

[26] Robin A. Leaver, "Brahms's Opus 45 and German Protestant Funeral Music," *The Journal of Musicology* 19, no. 4 (Fall 2002).

[27] Michael Musgrave, *Brahms: A German Requiem* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

requiem within the genre. The purpose of this study was to determine how Brahms's work was related to the requiem genre, how it signified requiem, and how it influenced the development of the genre after 1868.

Chase's *Dies Irae: A Guide to Requiem Music* (2003) is a thorough survey of requiem music. In addition to background information about each musical era, the requiem form, and other related music, Chase provided introductory and detailed information about each requiem he accessed during his five-year study.[28] This resource presented detailed data related to requiem music over the course of time. Comparative data gathered from these summaries enabled an accurate and unprecedented description of the evolution of the genre.

Chase divided twentieth-century requiems "into three major groups: the liturgical requiem, the secular requiem, and the war requiem."[29] He identified Goethe's *Requiem für Mignon* as the first secular requiem[30] and Britten's *War Requiem* as the first war requiem.[31] *Ein deutsches Requiem* was not included among these categories; it was considered apart from the genre because of its Protestant German text. Chase did mention that it is "perhaps the most beloved of Brahms's choral works and is possibly the best known requiem by any composer."[32] Here he referred to the work as a requiem even

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[28] Robert Chase, *Dies Irae: A Guide to Requiem Music* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2003), xxiv.

[29] Ibid., 307.

[30] Ibid., 310.

[31] Robert Chase, *Memento Mori: A Guide to Contemporary Memorial Music* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2007), xiv.

[32] Chase, *Dies Irae*, 539.

though his discussion of the work made it clear that its classification was not of the genre. Chase's follow-up book, *Memento Mori: A Guide to Contemporary Memorial Music* (2007), did not present an alternate viewpoint.

Chase's detailed studies enabled a new understanding of the requiem genre when paired with the relatively new analytical approach found in semiotics. Danesi's *The Quest for Meaning* (2007) defined semiotics as the study of "humanity's quest to understand the meaning of signs."[33] Danesi provided a method for organizing information related to the interpretation and meaning of a given sign. A statement and three questions summarized this analytical approach and offered a method for organizing related information. Semioticians "attempt to answer three basic questions about some cultural product: What does it mean? How does it encode its meaning(s)? And why does it mean what it means?"[34] Danesi clarified the main purpose of a semiotic inquiry when he stated that the "central aim [of semiotics] is to investigate, decipher, document, and explain the *what, how,* and *why* of signs, no matter how simple or complex they are."[35]

With Danesi's text providing a new framework, *Ein deutsches Requiem* becomes the "what" (Danesi's term), or the cultural product, studied in direct relation to the requiem genre as detailed in Chase's texts. Brahms's work was analyzed for evidence of the systems of convention common to the requiem genre of his day. The "how" and the "why" of the semiotic approach included examination of the personal, historical, national

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[33] Marcel Danesi, *The Quest for Meaning: A Guide to Semiotic Theory and Practice* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), viii.

[34] Ibid., 141.

[35] Ibid., 5.

and musical contexts surrounding Brahms and the composition of this work. This aspect of the analysis provided an understanding of the work's genesis and its capacity for communicating the meaning encoded in the term.

Through the lens of semiotics, Brahms's use of the word "requiem" is viewed as a sign, a word transformed from literal signification to symbolic signification. Brahms pointed to the requiem genre in his title, and created a context through which his music was perceived. Because Brahms presented a requiem without the *Missa pro defunctis* text, the use of the word was symbolic. Brahms did not borrow the word to connote a literal death portrayed in a literary scene, nor did he use the traditional Latin text translated into his native language. Instead, Brahms pointed to the traditional genre and then used musical form and specific compositional techniques, text subject and structure, and a similar performance context to enlarge the scope of the requiem genre.

Although discussion of signs and symbols is centuries old, this formal method of study is relatively recent. "The last half-century or so has witnessed an increasing interest in semiotic inquiry."[36] This field has been applied to many disciplines on many levels, from simple visual signs in art and culture to imbedded cues in musical and other gestures. The wide application of this analytical tool contributed to the establishment of semiotics as a new academic discipline. "The ultimate goal [of semiotics is] to unravel the meanings that are built into all kinds of human products, from words, symbols, narratives, symphonies, paintings, and comic books to scientific theories and

[36] John Deely, *Basics of Semiotics* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), ix.

mathematical theorems."[37] This study applied semiotics to Brahms's *Ein deutsches Requiem* in order to examine "requiem" as a literal term and as a signifier, to document the moment of its signification through this work, and to provide evidence of its impact as a signifier beyond Brahms's requiem and into modern day works.

Through the lens of semiotics and using newly gathered data from requiems past and present, the significance of *Ein deutsches Requiem* and its place in the development of the requiem genre is viewed in a new light. The composer known for his conservativism and his use of historical musical forms in fact redefined the requiem genre, and did it so successfully that he opened the door for future composers to use "requiem" as a signifier rather than as a literal indicator of text or even of form. Through Brahms's work both the word "requiem" and the requiem genre were transformed from the literal into the symbolic.

[37] Danesi, *The Quest for Meaning,* 3.

CHAPTER II

DOCUMENTING THE WHAT: A NEW REQUIEM

Brahms wrote *Ein deutsches Requiem* with the requiem genre in mind. He referred to the work as a requiem early in the process, in his writings about the work. Intimate experiences with death instilled in Brahms a determination to complete the work. When the work reached completion the title became more specific, but Brahms retained "requiem" as a key word in his final title. Brahms was motivated to write a requiem and his conviction to compose a work addressing grief and mourning did not waver. In conception, in conversation, and in the final iteration of the title Brahms communicated his perception of the work as a requiem.

Early Writings

Following Robert Schumann's death, Brahms came across a note in the Schumann library that suggested a German requiem. "In 1856, going over the manuscripts Schumann left, Brahms came across the title *Ein Deutsches Requiem.*"[38] The capitalization of "Deutsches" appeared in Schumann's note as well as in Brahms's early correspondence, but the initial letter is lowercase in the title of the completed work. No

[38]Paul S. Minear, *Death Set to Music: Masterworks by Bach, Brahms, Penderecki, Bernstein* (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1987), 74.

such alteration occurred with "Requiem;" early references to the work as a requiem remain unchanged. Brahms added the words *"nach Worten der heiligen Schrift"* ("after words from holy writing") in the completed score, a phrase that modifies "requiem."

Brahms returned to the requiem idea after his mother's death in 1865 and wrote the bulk of *Ein deutsches Requiem* in 1865-1866.[67] Brahms shared his intentions regarding the title and structure early in the process, in a letter to Clara Schumann dated 24 April 1865. The letter accompanied early versions of two movements, early drafts that Brahms was not yet ready to share more widely.

> If it is not too late let me beg you not to show the choral piece (Wie lieblich) to Joachim. In any case it is probably the weakest part in the said Deutsches Requiem. But it may have vanished into thin air before you come to Baden, just have a look at the beautiful words with which it begins. … I hope that a German text of this sort will please you as much as the usual Latin one.[68]

The letter continued, "I am hoping to produce a sort of whole out of the thing and trust I shall retain enough courage and zest to carry it through."[69] Brahms wrote this letter a few months after his mother's death, providing early documentation that both "requiem" and an original German text were seminal components of the work. Brahms referred to the "usual Latin text," the traditional Catholic *Missa pro defunctis*. This letter documents Brahms's awareness of the dichotomy he created through the combination of the Latin term in the title and an original German text within the work.

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[67] Jan Swafford, *Johannes Brahms: A Biography* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1997), 297-298.

[68] Robin A. Leaver, "Brahms's Opus 45 and German Protestant Funeral Music," *The Journal of Musicology* 19, no. 4 (Fall 2002): 634-635.

[69] Malcolm MacDonald, *Brahms* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1990), 132-133.

Clara Schuman was Brahms's confidant and advisor, someone to whom Brahms often turned with new musical ideas and works. "She was an early performer of his music and the senior artistic figure in his world. After Robert Schumann's death [in 1856] Brahms looked to Clara for advice on the new professional world into which he was moving, and she knew about all his new works."[70] Brahms clearly introduced his new work as a requiem when he sought Clara's early feedback. His correspondence pointed her toward the requiem genre, just as his title did for his listeners. If Clara expressed concerns about a requiem without the Latin text, Brahms did not alter his intentions. His work continued, as did Clara's friendship and support, through the 1868 premiere.

Brahms's use of "requiem" in the early stages of the composition process is an important indicator because it suggests that he was aware of the link being forged. "'Semiotic consciousness' is nothing more nor less than the explicit awareness of the role of the sign as that role is played in a given respect."[71] Identification of awareness related to the initial use of a sign is a critical aspect of semiotic inquiry. "The history of semiotics in this manner is always twofold. It is first of all a gathering together and identification of those moments of self-consciousness about the sign when signs are not only used but recognized in their contrast with what they are used for."[72] Brahms's letter to Clara provides evidence that he was aware of the contrast between his work and the traditional requiem mass. It also underscores his intention to title his work "requiem" despite his

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[70] Musgrave, *Brahms,* 25.

[71] Deely, *Basics of Semiotics,* 107.

[72] Ibid., 106.

decision to compile his own text. After centuries of requiems based upon the Catholic *Missa pro defunctis*, Brahms intended to compose a new kind of requiem.

Personal Motivation

Evidence of semiotic consciousness also exists in the larger context surrounding Brahms's motivation for creating the work: the deaths of Robert Schumann and his mother, Christiane Brahms. Brahms gave no indication that his work was a memorial for either person; no dedication in the score or other documentation exists regarding an intended specific memorial through this work. To the contrary, Brahms "thought of the work as 'a human requiem,' 'addressed to all, irrespective of creed.' He wanted to reach 'the total community of mankind'"[73] with the universality of his message. Yet his closest personal experiences with death were both dramatic: first the death of his mentor and then the death of his mother. After each death, Brahms's time of mourning was accompanied by his discovery of papers left behind. In each case, these papers became important in the development of his requiem.

Brahms first met Robert Schumann in September 1853 and spent time with him daily for the next month as their relationship intensified. [74] Both Robert and Clara Schumann took an interest in the young Brahms, encouraged his musical talents, and introduced him to their circle of friends. In January 1854 Brahms was among those

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[73] Minear, *Death Set to Music,* 67.

[74] John Daverio, *Robert Schumann: Herald of a "New Poetic Age"* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 453-454.

present[75] just before Schumann's attempted suicide in February. From 1854 until Schumann died in 1856, Brahms witnessed his deteriorating physical and mental health and its affect on Clara and the Schumann children. After Schumann's death, Brahms continued to feel deeply connected to his friend and mentor. "We (Joachim, Clara and I) have put in order the papers Schumann left behind. With every day one thus spends with him one gets to love and admire the man more and more."[76] One paper Schumann left provided the title Brahms adopted: a note with the words *Ein Deutsches Requiem.* Brahms's deep involvement with the Schumann family began just before Robert's suicide attempt, continued through his long illness and death, and grew stronger as he sorted through Robert's papers and turned to Clara for personal and musical support. The impact of Schumann's death upon Brahms was profound, deeply felt, and long-lived.

The death of Brahms's mother, Christiane, was also deeply emotional for the composer. She suffered a stroke in January 1865; despite his best efforts, Brahms was not able to return home before she died. A "telegram from Fritz brought him dashing back to Hamburg to be at her bedside,"[77] but he did not arrive until "two days after Christiane Brahms died."[78] This experience motivated Brahms to return to the requiem idea, and a few months later he sent the letter and the first draft of the two movements to Clara Schumann for her advice.

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[75] Daverio, *Robert Schumann,* 457.

[76] Musgrave, *Brahms,* 25.

[77] MacDonald, *Brahms,* 132.

[78] Swafford, *Johannes Brahms,* 296.

Brahms later returned to Hamburg and found some of his old writings in his mother's house. These fragments provided musical material for *Ein deutsches Requiem*[79] and, Swafford noted, perhaps also provided inspiration for him to complete the work:

> [Brahms] visited Hamburg for three weeks, then headed for a stay with Julius Allgeyer in Karlsruhe to get back to work. This time he would keep at the piece until it was done. Brahms finished the second and third movements of the *Requiem* in Karlsruhe and then took with him to Winterthur the growing pile of manuscript. This was a working visit with J. M. Rieter-Biedermann, whose firm would publish the piece. Then, continuing his wanderings with the *Requiem* as unifying thread, he settled to work at the beginning of June in a rented house on the slopes of the Züricherberg.[80]

Brahms signed the completed score in the summer of 1866,[81] then a six-movement work. The fifth movement, "Ihr habt nun Trauerigkeit" (Ye now have sorrow), was inserted after the Bremen premiere.

These two intimate experiences with grief were integral components of Brahms's motivation for the project. In addition to his personal insight into death and the grieving process, Brahms discovered the idea for the title among Schumann's papers and then found relevant musical scraps at his mother's house. The depth of his loss after Schumann's death provided motivation to begin, and the depth of his loss after his mother's death provided the determination to complete the extended work. Although Brahms did not specifically memorialize either Schumann or Christiane Brahms in *Ein deutsches Requiem,* aspects of his personal dedication to both are inherent.

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[79] Minear, *Death Set to Music,* 74.

[80] Swafford, *Johannes Brahms,* 306-307.

[81] Ibid., 297.

A portion of the second movement, "Denn alles Fleisch" (Behold all flesh), was based upon material first written "in reaction to Schumann's attempted suicide."[82] This material was then used in Brahms's Piano Concerto no. 1 in D Minor, op. 15 before it was adapted for *Ein deutsches Requiem.* The work written after Schumann's suicide was never completed, yet the material must have remained closely associated with Schumann's death for Brahms to return to it in *Ein deutsches Requiem.* In the Piano Concerto, this material is heard in the Adagio, which also features homophonic, chorale-like writing for the piano. In *Ein deutsches Requiem*, the adaptation of this material occurs at *So seid und geduldig* (So therefore be patient). Melodic fragments from the Piano Concerto also foreshadow melodies in the fifth movement.

Christiane Brahms's death motivated him to return to his requiem, but Brahms refrained from including personal references to his mother, with the possible exception of the fifth movement. This is the only movement featuring the soprano soloist, and the texts speak about direct comfort from parent to child. The writer of John 16:22 utilized the first person pronoun "I" in "I will see you again," which is interpreted through the soprano voice as a mother comforting her child. Isaiah 66:13 was set for the choir and is heard as assurance from God that "as a mother comforts her child, so will I comfort you." Minear interpreted the choice of these texts, set for a female soloist and choir, as directly related to Brahms and the loss of his mother. "Thus the musical structure expresses the triangular relationship of son, mother, and God."[83]

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[82] Beller-McKenna, *Brahms and the German Spirit,* 65.

[83] Minear, *Death Set to Music,* 75.

Brahms's personal grief is traceable in his motivation and in his musical materials, but Brahms did not allow his personal experiences to determine the course of his requiem. In this work, any personal references are "well hidden; the music itself gives voice to universal, not simply private, emotions."[84] Brahms retained his focus on all of mankind, despite motivation from personal experiences with death and grief. This focus is reflected in his text. "It emphasizes not so much the sense of personal loss as the paradoxical perception of joy in suffering (John), comfort in bereavement (Isaiah), and rest from a life of daily work (Ben Sira)."[85] Brahms's intention to write a universal requiem overshadowed direct personal references, even though personal experiences were instrumental in the genesis and shape of the work. This evidence of semiotic consciousness lends support to the conclusion that Brahms did not intend to write a cantata or sacred oratorio; he set out to write a new kind of requiem.

Evidence of Brahms's intention is also present in the events leading up to the Bremen premiere, a concert scheduled based on advice from Brahms's friend and advisor, Joachim. "The hope was that Reinthaler might be interested in mounting a full performance in Bremen cathedral, where, as Joachim pointed out, the resources, acoustics, and industry of the conductor were all favourable for a trial performance."[86] Joachim was the friend with whom Brahms sorted through the Schumann library; an

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[84] Minear, *Death Set to Music,* 76.

[85] Ibid.

[86] Margit L. McCorkle, "The Role of Trial Performances for Brahms's Orchestral and Large Choral Works: Sources and Circumstances," *Brahms Studies: Analytical and Historical Perspectives,* George S. Bozarth, editor (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 307.

advisor and associate of Brahms for many years before *Ein deutsches Requiem* was composed. Joachim recognized quality in the resources and environment of Bremen cathedral, but he also recognized elements within Brahms's music that caused him to suggest such a venue for the premiere.

Karl Reinthaler was cathedral organist and director of the *Singakademie* in Bremen, and was "enthusiastic about the new work and offered to schedule it for Good Friday, 10 April 1868."[87] Reinthaler's enthusiasm "led him to suggest to Brahms the extension of the work to the dimensions of an oratorio—a proposal which the composer did not, however, entertain."[88] Brahms's conception of the work as a requiem was firm, and its impact as a requiem was already in evidence; for although Reinthaler saw possibilities for expansion into an oratorio, he offered to perform the work on Good Friday, one of the most appropriate nights in the Christian year for the public performance of a funeral mass.

The Title

Ein deutsches Requiem nach Worten der heiligen Schrift is the title Brahms bestowed upon his work. He referred to the work as his *Deutsches Requiem* in his communications with Clara, but the final title reflects a more specific intention. "Deutsches" became "Ein deutsches," a subtle but not insignificant change that shifted

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[87] McCorkle, "The Role of Trial Performances," 307.

[88] Edwin Evans, *Handbook to the Vocal Works of Brahms: Historical, Descriptive, & Analytical Account of the Entire Works of Johannes Brahms* (New York: Lenox Hill Publishing and Distributing Company (Burt Franklin), 1912, reprinted 1970), 167.

the weight of the phrase to "Requiem," as "Ein" and "deutsches" in lowercase became qualifiers for the noun "Requiem." In an often-cited quote, Brahms's own words reflected the relative importance of "deutsches" in the title: "As concerns the text, I must admit, I very happily also would omit the "Deutsch" and simply put "Menschen."[89] Brahms would have "happily" substituted one modifier (Deutsch) for another (Menschen), but retained the integrity of the noun (Requiem). This indicates semiotic consciousness regarding the importance of "requiem" within the title.

The length of this title is unusual for Brahms. He wrote many works for instruments, piano, choir, and solo voice before he composed *Ein deutsches Requiem*. Brahms's titles were simple statements of form and number, such as Sonata no. 2, Serenade no. 1, Piano Concerto no. 1, and Piano Quartet no. 1. His choral works show similar short titles, descriptive of each work's content: *Vier Gesänge* (Four Songs), *Psalm XIII,* and *Geistliches Lied* (Spiritual Songs).[90] Titles of shorter songs, titles of song sets, and titles of instrumental works all reflected the content of the music that followed.

An interesting exception is a work for four-hand piano published in 1852, entitled *Souvenir de la Russie* (Souvenirs from Russia). Although this title is more descriptive than those of Brahms's other works, the titles of each of the six movements are in keeping with Brahms's style: "Hymne national russe de Lyoff," "Chansonette de Titoff," "Romance de Warlamoff" and the like,[91] each beginning with a single term identifying

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[89] Daniel Beller-McKenna, "How 'deutsch' a Requiem? Absolute Music, Universality, and the Reception of Brahms's 'Ein deutsches Requiem,' op. 45." *19th-Century Music* 22, no. 1 (Summer, 1998): 3.

[90] Bozarth and Frisch, "Brahms, Johannes," accessed October 23, 2009.

[91] Ibid.

genre. This work was published under a pseudonym, G. W. Marks,[92] further removing it from the standard for Brahms's published works.

Ein deutsches Requiem, nach Worten der heiligen Schrift is a significantly longer title than virtually all of Brahms's other titles to date. His use of "requiem" as the noun in the initial clause points to his frame of reference, in keeping with his tendency to describe form or content through a title. Brahms qualified the genre name with two modifying clauses, one before and one after the noun: *Ein deutsches* (A German) and *nach Worten der heiligen Schrift* (after words from holy writing). This rather lengthy elaboration was atypical for Brahms; the inclusion of the two modifying clauses illustrates his awareness, or semiotic consciousness, that his approach to the genre was something new.

As the title of a genre, "requiem" functions much like a name. "Names are signs that have both indexical and symbolic value: they are indexical in that they identify a person in some relational way, and they are symbolic in that they are based on specific cultural traditions."[93] Musical titles function like names especially when they are structured as Brahms typically structured his titles, as references to musical form. When Brahms titled his work "Requiem," he identified the work as being related to other requiems (indexical) and also to specific cultural traditions (symbolic). Brahms's avoidance of the traditional Latin text raised questions about the validity of the title because adherence to the Roman Catholic liturgical text was a long-standing tradition of the genre. But evidence of semiotic consciousness is found in the music itself. "Brahms

[92] Emile Haraszti, "Berlioz, Liszt, and the Rakoczy March," *The Musical Quarterly* 26, no. 2 (Apr., 1940), 231.

[93] Danesi, *The Quest for Meaning*, 47.

dubbed his work thus, and, over the course of history, it has become almost impossible for us to consider it as anything else."[94] The consideration of Brahms's work as a requiem is associative: "requiem" was suggested by the title and then was reinforced through secondary systems of convention related to the genre, detailed in the next chapter.

Brahms exhibited semiotic consciousness in his conception of the work as a requiem, a work motivated by the deaths of Robert Schumann and Christiane Brahms. Brahms's intentions were communicated to Clara early in the compositional process, and were affirmed by Joachim and Reinthaler as they mounted the premiere in Bremen. Brahms also exhibited semiotic consciousness through his extended title, unorthodox for Brahms and for the typical requiem. This, then, is the cultural product of this study: Brahms's *Ein deutsches Requiem* in the midst of and in relation to the requiem genre.

[94] O'Connor, "An Adornian Interpretation," 58.

CHAPTER III

EXPLAINING THE WHAT: THE REQUIEM BRAHMS INHERITED

Becoming "Requiem"

The requiem genre, like other musical genres, has never been a static or rigid formal structure. Composers adapted the form to suit their individual purposes, utilizing contemporary musical techniques such as harmonic structures, instrumentation, and melodic figurations within the outlines of the requiem throughout history. Still, until Brahms inherited it, the requiem was tied directly to the liturgical text. In order to point to the requiem genre and ignore the liturgical text, Brahms referred to other characteristics of the genre. "Anything can be a sign as long as someone interprets it as 'signifying' something—referring to or *standing for* something other than itself. We interpret things as signs largely unconsciously by relating them to familiar systems of conventions."[95] Brahms did not rely on the title alone to suggest that his work was a requiem; he also related his music to systems of conventions related to the requiem genre.

The liturgy for the Roman Catholic Mass for the Dead, *Missa pro defunctis,* was codified by Pope Pius V in 1570.[96] The Pope's *Missa Romanum* set forth the texts to be

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[95] Daniel Chandler, *Semiotics: The Basics,* 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2007), 13.

[96] Charles Albert Roeckle, "Eighteenth-Century Neapolitan Settings of the Requiem Mass: Structure and Style" (PhD diss, University of Texas at Austin, 1978), printed in 1987 by UMI Dissertation Information Service, University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor MI, viii.

used for the funeral rite[52] following decisions made at the Council of Trent (1545-1563). These codified texts remained constant in the Catholic liturgy until 1969,[53] when Catholic use of the Latin liturgy worldwide was replaced with liturgy in the vernacular. The Latin text is arguably the most recognizable system of convention for the genre, set in place in 1570 and left unchanged for almost 400 years.

The title given to this set of texts was not "Requiem," though; the liturgical title is *Missa pro defunctis.* The requiem developed into a musical form based on the *Missa de profunctis* texts, but the two are distinct entities: one is a musical composition and the other is a service of worship. At first these terms were used interchangeably because initially they referred to the same event: a Catholic order of worship that included music composed to heighten the impact of the liturgical text. The name of the musical form was derived from the first line of the Catholic liturgy, *Requiem aeternam dona eis, Domine* (Rest eternal grant to them, O Lord), but the requiem genre gradually expanded to encompass more than this order of worship. As the requiem genre grew, composers incorporated more systems of convention than just the prescribed *Missa pro defunctis* text. Details related to this distinction are examined in the next section of this chapter.

The development of the musical genre took place over hundreds of years. Musical settings of funeral texts were preserved from the tenth century, several hundred years before the *Missa de profunctis* texts were codified. Funeral music existed in the form of individual movements and in complete sets of movements that followed the outline of the

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[52] Roeckle, "Eighteenth-Century Neapolitan Settings of the Requiem Mass," 39.

[53] O'Connor, "An Adornian Interpretation," 58.

liturgy for the dead. A study of early funeral music by Gay identified these movements by liturgical position rather than by text used, such as Introit, Tract, Communion and the like, and includes seven Alleluias.[54] Composers freely selected which texts they would set from among all available passages. "From the earliest polyphonic settings of the *Missa pro defunctis* (cf. that of Ockeghem), composers exercised freedom in deciding which items they would treat and which were to be sung in chant."[55] These earliest sources of music for funeral rites exemplify fluidity and flexibility in form and in content, a freedom composers enjoyed for hundreds of years before the 1570 *Missale Romanum.*

The dramatic poem *Dies irae* (Day of wrath) was incorporated into funeral masses beginning circa 1308[56] and was found in manuscripts dated 1250-1255.[57] This poem consists of seventeen three-line stanzas in a consistent poetic meter, with rhyming two-syllable final words at the end of each line. These stanzas are followed by three two-line stanzas (Figure 1), thought to be a later addition to the original poem.[58] The opening stanza refers to David, the writer of the Psalms. Like David's Psalms, the text of the first seventeen stanzas includes a wide variety of emotions and images. "How great the trembling will be when the Judge shall come" reflects awe and wonder. "The trumpet will summon all" elicits an image of music, and "A written book will be brought forth" is

[54] Roeckle, "Eighteenth-Century Neapolitan Settings of the Requiem Mass," 25-26.

[55] Ibid., 51.

[56] Chase, *Dies Irae*, xvii.

[57] Ron Jeffers, *Sacred Latin Texts,* vol. 1 of *Translations and Annotations of Choral Repertoire* (Corvallis, OR: earthsongs, 1998), 70.

[58] Ibid., 71.

Confutatis maledictis, Flammis acribus addictis, Voca me cum benedictis.	When the accursed are confounded, Consigned to the fierce flames: Call me to be with the blessed.
Oro supplex et acclinis, Cor contritum quasi cinis: Gere curam mei finis.	I pray, suppliant and kneeling, My heart contrite as if it were ashes: Protect me in my final hour.
Lacrimosa dies illa, Qua resurget ex favilla, Judicandus homo reus. Huic ergo parce Deus.	O how tearful that day, On which shall rise from embers Man to be judged guilty. Spare them then, O God.
Pie Jesu Domine, Dona eis requiem.	Merciful Lord Jesus, Grant them rest.

Figure 1: Final stanzas of the Dies irae poem

prophetic. Various modes of prayer are included, such as the lament, "What am I, a poor wretch, going to say?;" the plea, "Remember, merciful Jesus;" and the confession, "I groan, like one who is guilty." The poem also includes dramatic visual images such as "consigned to the fierce flames" (Appendix A: Liturgical Requiem Texts).

The six concluding lines were taken from religious texts. "[T]he first four of those lines [were] taken verbatim from a 12th century *trope* on the Responsory "Libera me" (Deliver me), and the last two lines [are] an added concluding prayer."[59] The addition of these six lines changed the poetic meter as the poem approaches its end, as if preparing for the final Amen (Figure 1). The emotions, tone, and imagery of the bulk of the poem combined with the final prayer create a text that is strikingly similar to other sacred and

[59] Jeffers, *Sacred Latin Texts,* 71.

liturgical texts. The similarities in language and imagery enable the poem's inclusion within the liturgy, without resulting in a dramatic shift in the overall purpose, general content, or combined message of the liturgical texts.

The Dies irae poetry did add an internal musicality to the *Missa pro defunctis,* and was incorporated as the Sequence before the text became codified in 1570. The repetitive meters and rhymes are different from the more narrative lines of the other texts. With the exception of the Kyrie and the Agnus Dei texts, which possess a repeated structure that lends a certain musical flow to these sections, the remaining funeral mass texts do not possess an inherent meter or poetic structure. When the Dies irae was incorporated into the standard liturgy, the poetic language, imagery, and musicality of this poetry became another system of convention for the requiem genre. The ritualistic funeral mass prayers coupled with the more dramatic Dies irae text provided a structure for the development of a more uniform musical genre (Appendix A: Liturgical Requiem Texts).

Requiem by Title

Prior to and throughout the sixteenth century, musical works for the dead were most often titled *Missa pro defunctis.* Composers chose from the funeral rite passages for the various musical settings presented during a funeral mass. These settings functioned within a larger ritual, inserted into the spoken liturgy for the dead. According to an analysis of the works presented in Chase's *Dies Irae: A Guide to Requiem Music*, the most common title given to the more than twenty-five extant High Renaissance funeral masses was *Missa de profunctis*. Many works were untitled and were published in

collections containing partial and complete masses. Chase referred to some works as "Requiem," but most works titled by the composer are listed as "Missa de profunctis."[60]

The requiem genre was in its infancy; few common conventions existed to set these works apart as a distinct musical genre, other than the common text. The use of "Missa pro defunctis," the title of a liturgical service, evolved to the use of "Requiem," the title of a musical genre, over a long period of time. This change is an outward sign that an independent musical form was becoming established. As funeral works grew more similar to each other and more distinct from the Mass Ordinary, the change in title reflected the growing independence of the musical form.

Although the standardized liturgy after 1570 provided a familiar system of text and a concrete liturgical order, composers continued to choose which of the mass texts they would set.[61] Even so, the more structured textual foundation provided a sense of stability for the genre. One result of this increased stability was a dramatic rise in the number of requiem masses composed in the seventeenth century.

> Throughout the seventeenth century, musical settings of the requiem spread like wildfire as hundreds of new settings were composed. It would be reasonable to say that during this era, the requiem became somewhat recognized in Italy as a national musical form, much in the same sense as the chorale had been noted as a national form associated with German Lutherans.[62]

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[60] Chase, *Dies Irae*, 37-88.

[61] Roeckle, "Eighteenth-Century Neapolitan Settings of the Requiem Mass," 51-52.

[62] Chase, *Dies Irae*, xvii.

The increase in the number of requiem masses was not due to an increased interest in Catholic funeral services; composers were drawn to the genre for its musical potential.

The growth of the requiem genre is evidenced by the increased number of extant works included in Chase's chapter detailing Baroque requiems. Over forty-six works were described in detail, almost double the number in the previous section. Although a majority (twenty-one) used "requiem" in the title, almost as many (nineteen) were titled "Missa pro defunctis." Other similar titles also continued to appear, such as *Messe des morts* and *Missa defunctorum.*[63] The increased number of requiem masses provided a foundation for systems of convention to be established, leading to increased separation of the genre as a distinct musical entity. The standardized text provided a common language and order, and a sense of authority from the connection with the Roman Catholic Church through the Council of Trent and the 1570 *Missal Romanum*.

During the eighteenth century, long after the text was codified, "requiem" appeared in titles with greater frequency but the title was still not pervasive. Those works titled "Requiem" also tended to include information about the key of the work or the forces necessary for performance, such as Dittersdorf's Requiem in C minor or Eybler's Requiem für Soli, Chor und Orchester. French composers continued to title their works in their own language, as Gossec did with his *Grande Messe des Morts.* Chase increasingly referred to these works by the genre name even when the composer did not provide that title: Michael Haydn's score was titled *Missa pro defuncti Archepiscopo Sigismundo,* but Chase referred to the work as "the Requiem" and "Requiem in C minor" in his discussion

[63] Chase, *Dies Irae*, 89-182.

of the work.[64] Whether or not this was intentional, the increased use of "requiem" to describe these works highlights the musical commonalities present among requiems of this period. Of the works discussed from the Classical era only Mozart's is titled, simply, "Requiem;"[65] all other works that include "requiem" in the title include details about the key, performance forces, or dedicatee.

The more frequent use of the term in the titles of eighteenth century works and the growing tendency to identify requiems by virtue of musical content are evidence that a musical genre was being separated from strictly functional funeral music. The genre was becoming more clearly defined, using the *Missa de profunctis* text but beginning to acquire a separate and distinct identity. As the requiem genre became more established as a distinct musical form, secondary systems of convention such as textural changes, the use of polyphony, and the setting of specific texts in fugue form grew more widespread. Details about these systems of convention are addressed later in this chapter.

Requiem by Function

Early music for the funeral mass was liturgical in function, directly related to the Roman Catholic rite, yet composers still found a variety of implicit functions within the confines of the sacred liturgy. Some of the internal functions present in various works included intercession, consolation, and the contemplation of death, resurrection, and

[64] Chase, *Dies Irae*, 203-204.

[65] Ibid., 183-236.

judgment.[66] The freedom to select which texts to set allowed composers the freedom to linger on specific portions of the liturgy and to write music that underscored specific convictions regarding the texts.

Orlando di Lasso wrote two works titled *Missa de profunctis:* one for SATB voices in 1578 and another for SATTB voices in 1580. Chase described the 1578 work as one of "great solemnity," due to the low vocal writing, which provided "an intensely sober and shadowy sonority." No such dramatic characteristic was ascribed to the 1580 work. That one was characterized by its prevailing musical textures and compositional techniques.[67] Both works functioned liturgically, but the same composer created a difference in the implications of the text through different musical choices. Even with the presence of the dramatic Dies irae poetry in both works, the two works cannot be said to have the same emotional or dramatic import, such as that of judgment, consolation, or grief. Each setting shaped the message of the text in a personal way, providing a unique internal function and message.

As early as 1669, composers were given opportunities to write funeral music outside the confines of the liturgical service. Gilles (1668-1705) wrote his *Messe des morts* on commission from members of the Toulouse Parliament. The commission did not materialize, but Giles completed the work anyway.[68] This was one of several early works that exceeded the standard thirty to thirty-five minute length required by the

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[66] Roeckle, "Eighteenth-Century Neapolitan Settings of the Requiem Mass," 52-53.

[67] Chase, *Dies Irae*, 63-65.

[68] Ibid., 117-118.

liturgical setting.[69] Requiems like Gilles's offer evidence that not all requiem music was written for use within the liturgical Roman Catholic *Missa pro defunctis* service, even when the composer set the traditional text. This tendency was common among many musical forms of the seventeenth century. "In the early seventeenth century, liturgical music accompanied primarily the liturgical action, but with the passing of the decades, it began to assume a more decorative function."[70] The systems of convention strictly related to liturgical function began to deteriorate as the requiem genre became an established musical form. The requiem was beginning to be recognized for its worth beyond functional liturgical music.

As the number of requiem masses increased in the eighteenth century, a high level of importance was ascribed to these works.

> But the exceptional and solemn nature of those occasions which did demand a Requiem Mass, the number of text-items from which to choose, and the imagery of the texts, all served to prompt composers, particularly those of the eighteenth century, to view the Requiem Mass as important, and to produce in this genre some of their most important works.[71]

Music of the requiem genre was set apart as solemn and important, a system of convention related to function. Music intended for general use in a funeral mass, sometimes with various settings of each movement provided, grew to a form of greater importance and weight. Fux's work, known as the *Emperor's Requiem*, was written in

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[69] Chase, *Dies Irae*, 93.

[70] Ibid., 90.

[71] Roeckle, "Eighteenth-Century Neapolitan Settings of the Requiem Mass," 54-55.

1720 for the funeral Emperor Leopold's widow.[72] Zelenka's 1721 Requiem in D minor was commissioned for the tenth anniversary of the death of Emperor Joseph I by his daughter, Maria Josepha.[73] These requiems were more than liturgical music; they were written for grand public occasions. The setting was a funeral service, but the composers were aware of the importance of both the prominent figure behind the commission and the public nature of the performance of their music. The grand public statement on death became one of the systems of convention related to the requiem genre.

Similarly, an independent musical form based on the Catholic Mass Ordinary gained meaning beyond strictly liturgical function. "The Viennese school of Mozart, Haydn, and Beethoven, with its elegance, grace, and balance, in turn, left its unmistakable imprint upon the legacy: the first truly symphonic requiem (and mass) models."[74] Despite Chase's claim upon all three masters, Haydn and Beethoven contributed to the Mass Ordinary genre but neither composed a requiem. Still, the separation of musical genre from liturgical function, as seen in the masses of Haydn and Beethoven, paralleled an identical development in the requiem genre.

Beethoven was aware of the growing independence of the requiem form, and stated his affinity for Cherubini's work[75] when he remarked, "Among all the composers alive Cherubini is the most worthy of respect. I am in complete agreement, too, with his

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[72] Chase, *Dies Irae*, 153.

[73] Ibid., 179.

[74] Ibid., xix.

[75] Ibid., 192.

conception of the 'Requiem,' and if ever I come to write one I shall take note of many things."[76] By the time Beethoven expressed his appreciation for Cherubini's Requiem the genre was clearly established as a distinct musical entity, because Beethoven was drawn to the work for the *musical* aspects of Cherubini's setting. Additionally, Beethoven's comment referred to writing a *requiem*, not a mass or a setting of the *Missa pro defunctis.* The musical genre had established its own systems of convention related to the title "Requiem," and musical settings of the text were evaluated by virtue of musical content. "Musically, Cherubini's Requiem was esteemed both by Beethoven and by Berlioz, neither of whom commented … on its political context."[77] Neither Beethoven nor Berlioz worked for the church, so their interest in Cherubini's Requiem was based on musicality rather than on its function within a liturgical mass.

Gradually, due to a variety of factors, sacred music spread from the sanctuary into the concert hall. Chase considered Gossec's 1760 *Grande Messe des Morts* to be the first requiem to move toward the new venue.[78] As composers began to think in terms of musical genre rather than strictly liturgical function, the size and scope of their requiems increased. The *Grande Messe* is seventy-five minutes long, has twenty-five movements, and utilizes a large orchestra with the brass placed on a large platform.[79] The grandeur of Gossec's work also reflects a growing sense of importance related to the genre; music set

[76] Friedrich Kerst and Henry Edward Krehbiel, eds, *Beethoven: The Man and the Artist as Revealed in His Own Words* (Whitefish, MT: Kessinger, 2004), 35.

[77] Michael P. Steinberg, *Listening to Reason: Culture, Subjectivity, and Nineteenth-Century Music* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 165.

[78] Chase, *Dies Irae,* xx-xxi.

[79] Ibid., 200.

apart from standard masses and even from typical funeral masses. This was music composed for an important public occasion.

The significance of the shift from the sanctuary to the public sphere was obscured and occurred over a period of time because, from its earliest days, the *Missa de profunctis* had been observed in a somewhat public manner at least once a year. "The Requiem Mass is celebrated *In commemoratione Omnium Fidelium Defunctorum* ("in memory of all the faithful departed") on All Soul's Day."[80] This service was held in the sanctuary and was a liturgical service, but it was not a funeral service for an individual. Rather, it was a public remembrance honoring all of the dead. Requiem music, therefore, was written for both the individual funeral rite and for public commemoration of the dead from the inception of the genre. The requiem music of All Soul's Day, a grand occasion for many dead, had already infused the genre with occasions of public importance. When the requiem shifted to the concert hall, the sense of grandeur and importance of occasion was not an entirely new perspective for those hearing the music.

The separation of musical form from liturgical function in the early nineteenth century was also masked by the perception of the concert hall as a sacred space.

> The increasing cultural importance of the concert hall and opera house in the decades around 1800 allowed composers and audiences to take more seriously the kinds of music that could be made there; and this … incursion of seriousness made those places as natural a home as the church for the occasional exploration of religious and other spiritual (philosophical, ideological) thought and imagery.[81]

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[80] Jeffers, *Sacred Latin Texts,* 62.

[81] Ralph P. Locke, "The religious works," in *The Cambridge Companion to Berlioz,* edited by Peter Bloom, 96-107 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 96.

The cultural seriousness of the concert hall drew large works such as requiem masses to the stage, which served as pulpit for both sacred and secular messages. The exploration of religious themes and ideas was not confined to church sanctuaries. Thus, the appearance of masses and requiem masses on the concert stage was not automatically viewed as secular or separate from theological constructs.

The sacred atmosphere within the concert hall was due in part to the growth of choral societies during the nineteenth century. "A sense of sacredness [was] transferred from liturgical worship to the group participation of the choral society and concert hall."[82] The choir had been an integral part of the sacred music world for centuries. As choral societies formed and spread, they relied on the oratorio repertoire as a staple of their concert life.[83] The oratorio had long been crossing the sacred/secular divide. Because the oratorio was Bible-based and grew out of the church, an element of sacredness was retained even though the performance venue was a concert hall. The sacred roots of the choir as a performing body were not severed when choral societies formed; instead, a sense of the sacred transferred with them into the secular arena.

The appearance of masses and requiems on the concert stage reflected the importance of these forms for choral societies. "The mass remained the only genre that consistently involved choral forces throughout the [Baroque] era."[84] The sense of importance, the use of the liturgical texts, and the grandeur of music written for oratorios,

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[82] John Butt, "Choral Music," in *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Music*, edited by Jim Samson, 213-236 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 235.

[83] Ibid., 219.

[84] Dennis Schrock, *Choral Repertoire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 188-189.

masses, and requiems made it easy to interpret these works as grand religious statements. However, in the nineteenth-century concert hall these choral masterworks were just as easily interpreted as musical masterworks that happened to include religious texts. All of these forms were multi-movement works for chorus and orchestra, each one featured solo movements and passages alongside a variety of choral textures, and all three grew out of centuries of sacred choral literature and tradition.

The perceived importance of the musical requiem and the cultural importance of the concert hall masked a shift in function and at the same time contributed to the growing independence of the musical form from its liturgical roots. Liturgical music was not necessarily performed in a broader arena to foster a broader sense of sacredness and worship. Some composers wrote music based on liturgical outlines but their intent was musical performance. More and more requiems did not function as liturgical music, due to expanded performance time, size of performance forces, or other considerations.

> The concert hall was in a very real sense a church and the audience a congregation well before the *St. Matthew Passion* revival. Schleiermacher's more specifically religious revival could not have succeeded without a broader aesthetic sense of the religious. Musical works could now be viewed as aesthetic wholes rather than as components of a liturgy.[85]

Thus while the requiem could be viewed as a distinct musical genre, an aesthetic whole, it was not clearly separated from its religious association. The shift in performance venue was not in stark contrast to other large choral and orchestral works from this era. The

[85] Butt, "Choral Music," 235.

distinction between a sacred and secular function of musical works performed outside the church was not clearly delineated.

The shift toward the concert stage was perhaps more easily recognized as a point of concern by religious authorities and composers of sacred music. The nineteenth-century Caecilian movement was the most outspoken with regard to distinguishing between sacred and secular music. "They regarded 'true, genuine church music' as being subservient to the liturgy, and intelligibility of words and music as more important than artistic individuality."[86] Bruckner's 1849 Requiem in D minor is ten movements long, with an approximate performance time of thirty-seven minutes.[87] Although it commemorates a personal friend and mentor,[88] its length and "faithful adherence to the Latin text"[89] make it an appropriate choice for liturgical use. Despite the outspoken attention of religious authorities and examples of contemporary, liturgically-appropriate works such as that by Bruckner, the distinction between sacred and secular works nevertheless remained blurred throughout the Romantic era.

Adherence to the liturgical text and performance inside a church were therefore no longer enough to identify a work as sacred or liturgically appropriate. Composers without religious affiliation composed music using sacred texts for public performance:

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[86] Siegfried Gmeinwieser, "Cecilian movement," in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online.* <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/ 05245> (accessed October 31, 2009).

[87] Chase, *Dies Irae,* 252.

[88] Ibid., 251.

[89] Gmeinwieser, "Cecilian movement," accessed October 31, 2009.

"The wide popularity of choral music had its influence on almost every composer."[90] Requiems and masses written by composers affiliated with the church were augmented by composers without specific religious affiliation, who provided their own commentary on religious themes through these established musical genres. The requiem genre was not constrained to composers of sacred music. It had grown in musical and functional status so much that the genre attracted leading secular composers as well.

Berlioz, for example, completed his *Grande messe des morts* in 1837, written on a commission from the French government.

> Six months after Cherubini completed his D minor Requiem Mass Berlioz received a definite commission from the Minister of the Interior, who wished to raise the standard of sacred music in France, to write a Requiem to be performed at the Government's expense on the day of the service annually celebrated for the victims of the Revolution of 1830.[91]

Berlioz was chosen for this honor due to his stature as a composer and musician, not by virtue of his religious beliefs. "The massive Berlioz Requiem, which despite being performed in a church, had a connection to the liturgy that, at best, could be described as tenuous."[92] From the moment of its commission, Berlioz's work was intended for a grand, staged, public performance, not for a service of liturgical worship. The musical requiem genre was a separate entity, based on a liturgical text and liturgical function but a genre that had already expanded beyond its original form and function.

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[90] Young, *The Choral Tradition*, 218.

[91] Robertson, *Requiem*, 85.

[92] Chase, *Dies Irae*, 243.

The *Grande messe des morts* was performed in a church, but that did not make it sacred in function: Berlioz composed this work for an occasion of the state. "Liturgical considerations were not in Berlioz's mind."[93] Berlioz's work points to the development of the musical genre as a distinct form, a genre still connected to its roots strongly enough to influence the choice of venue for the premiere of Berlioz's work. The requiem was still connected to its liturgical beginnings by text and, through a lack of obvious dissention with liturgical structure, by design. "These works are neither sacred in a conventional sense nor secular in the sense of leaving behind, denying, or displacing sacred claims."[94]

Works like Berlioz's blurred the sacred/secular divide through the continued use of the sacred text and a sense of sacred function surrounding performance in any venue. The acceptance of sacred themes in the concert hall and performances of works for the state inside the sanctuary did nothing to delineate sacred from secular intent. Religious and philosophical thought was not confined to the sanctuary, and liturgical texts were no longer the sole domain of the worship service. In this context, the requiem gained another system of convention, unrelated to liturgical function. A grand statement on death for an important figure, a nation, or a personal friend became a part of the requiem genre, regardless of the validity of the statement as a theological one. Personal statements were intermixed with the theological text, and the requiem genre took another step away from a form based on a prescribed text for a liturgical function.

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[93] Robertson, *Requiem,* 88.

[94] Steinberg, *Listening to Reason,* 165.

Requiem by Form

As the requiem genre became separated from the *Missa pro defunctis* liturgy, the musical form began to acquire its own systems of conventions. Despite changes of style in each generation, some aspects of the form are present in requiems across the Baroque, Classical, and early Romantic musical eras. These developing traditions of musical structure enabled Brahms to refer to the genre without using its standard Latin text, through the use of musical systems of convention common throughout the genre.

In some cases, musical structures developed directly from the structure of the text. The Introit text consists of eight lines; the first two lines are restated at the end (Appendix A: Liturgical Requiem Texts). This led many composers to set the Introit in ABA form, including Biber (1687), Kerll (1669), Campra (1722), J.C. Bach (1757), and Cherubini (1816). The tripartite form was used in many vocal and instrumental works; its presence in the requiem is a sign that the requiem was related to other musical works *as* a musical work, apart from the text.

Similarly, the Offertory text is set in two large sections, each of which ends with *Quam olim Abrahae promisisti, et semini ejus* (Which thou once promised to Abraham and to his seed). Even when composers divided the Offertory text into two movements, the "Quam olim Abrahae" material was often repeated when the text returned, as Reicha did in his *Missa pro defunctis* in the first decade of the nineteenth-century.[95] A parallel text-based musical structure is found in both *Hosanna in excelsis* (Glory to God in the

[95] Chase, *Dies Irae*, 222.

highest) sections, the first at the end of the Sanctus and the second following the Benedictus. The use of repeated texts to provide points of musical return rounds off the work musically and connects the requiem genre to other established musical forms.

Purely musical conventions associated with the requiem arose with increasing regularity as the musical genre was established. Composers gave musical conventions a higher priority than text-based conventions, adapting the text to suit their musical needs.

> In the final years of the seventeenth century, musical considerations were viewed as more pivotal to a requiem's success than the previously required mass text. Repetition of liturgical text, gratuitous and redundant for any theological or philosophical purpose, became a common aspect within every movement of the requiem mass.[96]

When Berlioz wrote his *Grande messe des morts* he not only repeated texts as the music required but he also changed the order of the words "to suit the dramatic intentions."[97] This practice also occurred in settings of the Mass Ordinary as composers established musical conventions within that genre that pushed against liturgical constraints.

> At the Chapelle Royale, which he directed or co-directed from 1804 to 1830, Lesueur inserted additional biblical but non-liturgical texts at various places in his masses and eliminated certain traditionally required texts, such as the lengthy *Credo*. Furthermore, in many of his works for Catholic worship, the singers represent specific biblical characters. Lesueur established a tradition, parallel to oratorio but within ecclesiastical precincts, of a music that was fully 'religious' or, indeed, even 'sacred,' but no longer bound by liturgical constraint.[98]

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[96] Chase, *Dies Irae*, 93.

[97] Ibid., 245.

[98] Locke, "The religious works," 99.

As composers continued to give musical considerations priority over the text, they pushed the genre farther outside the boundaries set by the Catholic funeral liturgy.

Musical forms and structures of the day were incorporated into the requiem genre throughout the historical eras. For example, Baroque requiems included da capo arias, also found in opera, oratorio, and cantatas.[99] Composers approached the requiem text with contemporary compositional techniques, and made changes to the text to suit their musical and dramatic purposes. Long before Brahms compiled a Lutheran-based text to replace the traditional Catholic Latin liturgy, the text had become somewhat secondary to the composer's expressive intentions.

The use of polychoral techniques in the "contrasts of choral and soloist passages"[100] was one musical convention common to both the requiem and the mass genres. In some cases, movements for full choir alternated with movements for soloists. In other cases, such as in Mozart's opening movement, passages for soloists were written in the midst of a choral movement. In the mass, oratorio, and requiem genres this was one way to alter the pervading texture. The use of soloists within the larger form had come to be standard practice. This convention became so common that Chase made note when a requiem did not feature a movement for soloists, as in Salieri's 1804 Requiem.[101] The similarity of these types of textures in the requiem genre and in other established musical

[99] Chase, *Dies Irae*, 98.

[100] Ibid., 91.

[101] Ibid., 224.

genres supports consideration of the requiem as a musical form, because musical techniques assumed prominence in the discussion of a work as part of the genre.

Over time, specific portions of the requiem text became commonly set as fugues or canons. The passages most commonly set as fugues were "Quam olim Abrahae" from the Offertory and "Cum sanctis tuis" from the closing Communion. Other popular choices were "Hosanna," found after the Sanctus and the Benedictus, and the Kyrie text,[102] which follows the opening Introit. The regular presence of fugal writing became a system of convention for the genre, as did the reference to an older style of composition. "The employment of a fugue or canonic-style piece was often presented as a conscious recall of the older *stile antico.*"[103] This exemplifies a system of convention that points to an earlier *musical* style, rather than to a function related to liturgical text or liturgical function. The language of the requiem came to include references to established styles of composition found inside and outside the Catholic Church: fugues were common in the requiem and in Bach's keyboard works or Handel's oratorios.

Death is a timeless subject; contemplation about the afterlife can include those who have died as well as those facing death. The topic is relevant to all of humanity; past, present, and future. One method of incorporating a timeless quality into music is to reference earlier musical styles in combination with contemporary or even novel musical ideas and structures. The presence of the old alongside the new conveys a sense of

[102] Chase, *Dies Irae,* 187.

[103] Ibid.

timelessness inherent in the subject matter of the requiem: *stile antico* forms paired with contemporary harmonies suggest timelessness just as the subject of death is timeless.

Mozart's Requiem, K. 626, incorporated several of the musical conventions associated with the requiem genre. The unification of the Introit and Kyrie into one movement, also used in Michael Haydn's Requiem,[104] was deemed "typical of the late eighteenth-century requiem."[105] In addition, Chase noted the return of material from the Introit in the concluding passages of the work, "like the slightly earlier Dittersdorf setting."[106] These structural elements add to the prominence of musical considerations over textual primacy, and reinforce musical conventions from earlier eras.

Yet the persistent presence of the *Missa pro defunctis* text continued to serve as a constant reminder of the initial connection to the Catholic funeral rite. The text also provided a basis for the classification of works as requiems, without consideration of the work's intended function. For example, Steinberg stated: "The liturgical setting had retained its dominance in the late-eighteenth and earlier-nineteenth-century Requiems, including Mozart's (K. 262) of 1791, Cherubini's of 1817, and Berlioz's of 1837."[107] Cherubini's work could be called liturgical, but Mozart's had little to do with a liturgical service. His work was longer than the liturgy allowed, it was commissioned by an individual, and it has retained its status as a work for the concert stage. Berlioz's *Grande*

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[104] Robertson, *Requiem,* 61.

[105] Chase, *Dies Irae,* 213.

[106] Ibid., 214.

[107] Steinberg, *Listening to Reason,* 165.

messe des morts approached a strictly concert function, clearly intended for performance outside of a liturgical service. Yet the presence of the Latin text, set predominantly in standard order, created the illusion that these works were somehow liturgical in function. For Steinberg, this was enough to identify them as requiem masses, regardless of the intended function or practicality for use in a liturgical setting.

Through title, function, and form the early music written for the Catholic funeral service grew into an independent musical form. Musical conventions rose in importance, and composers adapted the text to suit musical and expressive needs. Systems of convention related to musical forms provided connection with the larger body of concert music. A sense of importance became associated with the genre; composers were fully aware of the grandness of the occasion. A sense of timelessness was incorporated into the genre through the use of *stile antico* polyphonic textures, polychoral techniques, and the presence of fugues in specific movements.

Musicality, imagery, and poetry were recognized as part of the form, especially in the Sequence. The drama inherent in the Dies irae heightened the sense of grandeur and timelessness related to the subject of death. The concert hall became established as an appropriate venue for these grand statements about death, and the sanctuary was no longer considered the only venue appropriate for expressions of theology and philosophy. As the musical genre became independent from liturgical function, more and more composers used “requiem” in the title of works based on the *Missa de profunctis* text to refer to the many systems of convention that had evolved around the musical genre, rather than as a specific reference to the liturgical function of its text.

CHAPTER IV

DOCUMENTING THE HOW: FORM AND TEXT ANALYSIS

The requiem genre, a distinct body of musical works with identifying systems of convention, grew beyond functional liturgical limits long before the turn of the nineteenth century. Composers accepted the *Missa pro defunctis* text as an established convention but they also treated the text with more and more freedom, giving priority to musical and dramatic considerations and conventions. Established systems of convention in mid-eighteenth to early nineteenth-century requiems included a grand public statement on the subject of death, the use of *stile antico* musical styles, the prevalence of Baroque *concertato* writing, fugues associated with specific texts, the freedom to create musical movements by combining portions of the liturgy or by dividing longer texts into several movements, and composition of a requiem intended for performance in a concert hall instead of in a church (Appendix B: Requiem Forms and Functions, 1750-1867).

Composers did not follow these conventions as strict mandates. Bruckner and Rheinberger still wrote within the bounds of liturgical use, but Reicha and Suppé did not. Dittersdorf and Mayr used very little polyphonic or fugal writing. Berlioz focused on fiery judgment while Fauré lingered on moments of hope. Composers used varying numbers of movements to compose works that spanned from liturgical time limits to oratorio-like performance length. Instrumentation and performance forces were

dramatically increased or decreased to suit the composer's needs. The requiem genre was not a rigid form despite the standard text, liturgical order, and serious subject matter.

The presence of the *Missa pro defunctis* texts was the genre's primary system of convention. The presence of even a few of the musical systems of convention, when added to the Latin text, was enough to associate the work with the genre. Even if the intended function of the work, the editing of the text, the personal beliefs of the composer, the intended performance venue, or the length of performance fell outside conventional approaches, the presence of the Latin text was enough to classify the work as a requiem. The transformation from liturgical form to a wider musical genre was subtle, and occurred beneath the overriding presence of the *Missa pro defunctis* text. Parallel developments in the mass genre and in other liturgical music also masked the transformation of the requiem to a wider musical genre. Performance venues, theological and philosophical public debate, and state-sponsored composition of music formerly written for the sanctuary occurred across genre and denominational lines.

Brahms challenged the identity of the genre when he pointed to the requiem genre but chose to leave out its primary system of convention, the Latin text. With *Ein deutsches Requiem*, the question of genre classification was brought to the foreground. When Brahms titled his work "Requiem," he introduced the *topic* of requiem to his audience. "Topics are subjects of musical discourse [that] provide a framework for discussing various kinds and levels of associative signification."[108] Brahms introduced

[108] V. Kofi Agawu, *Playing with Signs: A Semiotic Interpretation of Classic Music* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 19.

the topic through the designator "requiem," which became a symbol that referred the listener to specific content.

> Virtually anything can function as a designator, from a title or allusion to a nearly subliminal detail—even a bit of accumulated lore. Whatever form it takes, however, the designator is never extraneous to the representation. It does not occupy an 'outside' in relation to a representational 'inside.' If Edvard Munch's painting *The Scream* were entitled *The Toothache*, it would be quite a different work.[109]

Through his title, Brahms challenged the listener to find aspects of the requiem in his music. He then offered evidence of this association within his music and his text. "Although the *German Requiem* repudiates wholly the textual structure of the Latin Requiem, it nevertheless exhibits musical elements which tend to feature in this genre."[110] Brahms relied on secondary systems of convention to convince his listeners that his music belonged to the genre he named in the title.

A comparison of the music and text in *Ein deutsches Requiem* with the genre's established systems of convention revealed several parallels in construction and content. "Contemporary semioticians study signs not in isolation but as part of semiotic 'sign-systems' (such as a medium or genre). They study how meanings are made and how reality is represented."[111] Analysis of the work *within the context of topic* exposed the techniques Brahms used to underscore his claim on the genre. Agawu related the

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[109] Lawrence Kramer, *Classical Music and Postmodern Knowledge* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 69.

[110] O'Connor, "An Adornian Interpretation," 63.

[111] Chandler, *Semiotics*, 2.

conclusions of Émile Benveniste, who stated in *The Semiology of Language* that a sign "exists when it is recognized as signifier by all members of a linguistic community, and when it calls forth for each individual roughly the same associations and oppositions."[112] Brahms was able to refer to the requiem as a commonly understood entity because the requiem genre had grown to encompass a number of recognized conventions among composers and their listeners. In *Ein deutsches Requiem*, "requiem" became a topic because Brahms employed these other systems of convention to call forth the commonly understood musical requiem genre.

Systems of Convention Related to Form

The structure, number of movements, and overall length of *Ein deutsches Requiem* fall within the conventions of requiem genre. By 1868, the prevailing requiem structure consisted of six elements: Introit-Kyrie (most often a single movement), Sequence (sometimes one movement, sometimes several movements), Offertory, Sanctus, Benedictus, and Agnus Dei-Communion (most often a single movement). The evolution of this structure is outlined in Appendix C: Identification of Elements by Era. Although these movements became standard fare, only one pre-1868 requiem listed in Chase's guide was made up of *only* these six movements: Requiem in Bb Major by Johann Ernst Eberlin (1702-1762), composed around 1750. Very few requiems have only six movements; most have between seven and twelve movements.

[112] Agawu, *Playing with Signs,* 14.

The six element foundation was extended to between seven and twelve movements in a number of ways. Most commonly, composers divided the Sequence, *Dies irae,* into several movements. Michael Haydn, Ferdinand Schubert, and Bruckner divided the Offertory into separate movements. Mozart's Requiem, which became a model for later composers, has twelve movements: the Introit and Kyrie are linked, the Sequence is divided into six movements, the Offertory is divided into two movements, the Sanctus is set in two movements, the Benedictus is a single movement, and the Agnus Dei and Communion are linked in a single movement. Composers who maintained single movements throughout sometimes added a musical setting of one of the other burial rite texts (Appendix A: Liturgical Requiem Texts). Salieri and Vogler added a Responsory, Nuñez-Garcia included a Gradual, Paisiello composed a Tract and a Responsory. Cherubini added a Pie Jesu to both of his requiems, a movement based on the last two lines of the Sequence poem. This addition was common among French composers.[113]

In addition to omitting portions of certain texts, composers sometimes omitted entire movements, a practice employed since the earliest requiems. Gossec's *Grande Messe des Morts* is missing the Kyrie and includes an alternate Offertory text. Schmittbaur omitted the Kyrie and the Communion; Donizetti did not set the Sanctus, Benedictus, or Agnus Dei but included a Gradual and a Responsory. Rheinberger omitted the entire Sequence. Chase's anthology documented great individuality and variety within the requiem genre, despite the standardized liturgical text. Over the course of time,

[113] Chase, *Dies Irae,* 192.

the Introit-Kyrie, Sequence, Offertory, Sanctus, Benedictus, and Agnus Dei-Communion emerged as common musical structures.

When Brahms first completed *Ein deutsches Requiem* in 1866 it consisted of six movements, the same number of elements common to the genre. A comparison of the traditional movements and Brahms's original six movements illuminates the similarities in the structural outlines (Figure 2). Both structures exhibit *stile antico* elements in the

	***Missa pro defunctis* texts**	Musical/formal elements	***Ein deutsches Requiem texts***	Musical/formal elements
Introit-Kyrie	*Requiem aeternam* (Rest eternal) *Kyrie eleison* (Lord, have mercy)	*Stile antico* elements: fugue, concertato writing	*Selig sind* (Blessed they)	*Stile antico* elements are present; no fugue
Sequence	*Dies irae* (Day of wrath)	Poetic text, dramatic images, sectional or multi-movements	*Denn alles Fleisch* (For all flesh)	Dramatic imagery, sectional construction
Offertory	*Domine, Jesu Christe* (Lord Jesus Christ) *Hostias et preces* (Sacrifices and praise)	Two text passages, both end with *Quam olim Abrahae*, most often fugal	*Herr, Lehre doch mich* (Lord, make me to know) *Der Gerechten Seelen* (The righteous souls)	Two text passages, includes fugal writing and ends with an extended pedal fugue
Sanctus	*Sanctus* (Holy)	Return to homophonic writing, choral movement	*Wie lieblich* (How lovely)	Homophonic, choral movement
Benedictus	*Benedictus* (Blessed)	Often set for soloists	*Denn wir haben* (For here we have no place)	Extended movement, dramatic and sectional. Baritone soloist.
Agnus Dei-Communion	*Agnus Dei* (Lamb of God) *Lux aeterna* (Eternal light)	Often includes fugue, returns to opening material	*Selig sind die Toten* (Blessed are the dead)	Primarily homophonic, returns to opening material

Figure 2: Table showing similarities in the six-movement structure

first movement, dramatic imagery and sectional construction in the second movement, two text passages and fugal writing in the third movement, homophonic choral writing in

the fourth movement, a fifth movement that features soloists, and a return to opening material in the final movement. Especially through the first four movements, the outline of *Ein deutsches Requiem* closely parallels the commonly used movements and structures of the requiem genre.

After the 1868 Bremen premiere, Brahms inserted a new movement, *Ihr habt nun Traurigkeit* (Ye now have sorrow), after the fourth movement. This addition created an even stronger parallel, shown in Figure 3. The similarities outlined in the first four

	***Missa pro defunctis* text**	Musical/formal elements	***Ein deutsches Requiem*** text	Musical/formal elements
Introit-Kyrie	*Requiem aeternam* (Rest eternal) *Kyrie eleison* (Lord, have mercy)	*Stile antico* elements: fugue, concertato writing	*Selig sind* (Blessed they)	*Stile antico* elements are present; no fugue
Sequence	*Dies irae* (Day of wrath)	Poetic text, dramatic images, sectional or multi-movements	*Denn alles Fleisch* (For all flesh)	Dramatic imagery, sectional construction
Offertory	*Domine, Jesu Christe* (Lord Jesus Christ) *Hostias et preces* (Sacrifices and praise)	Two text passages, both end with *Quam olim Abrahae*, most often fugal	*Herr, Lehre doch mich* (Lord, make me to know) *Der Gerechten Seelen* (The righteous souls)	Two text passages, includes fugal writing and ends with an extended pedal fugue
Sanctus	*Sanctus* (Holy)	Return to homophonic writing, choral	*Wie lieblich* (How lovely)	Homophonic, choral movement, soprano soloist with choir
Benedictus	*Benedictus* (Blessed)	Often set for soloists	*Ihr habt nun Traurigkeit* (Ye now have sorrow)	Slow, comforting movement
Agnus Dei-Communion	*Agnus Dei* (Lamb of God) *Lux aeterna* (Eternal light)	Often includes fugue, returns to opening material	*Denn wir haben* (For here we have no place) *Selig sind die Toten* (Blessed are the dead)	Extended, sectional; fugue. Returns to opening material

Figure 3: Table showing similarities in the seven-movement structure

movements remain intact, but now the serenity and peace of Brahms's fifth movement more closely resembles the peace and blessing of a Benedictus. "Denn wir haben" viewed

in combination with the simplicity of "Selig sind die Toten" provides a concluding structure more equivalent to that of the combined Agnus Dei-Communion movement in the requiem genre. The brilliance and drama of "Denn wir haben" gives way to the peace of "Selig sind die Toten" in the same way that a brilliant *Cum sanctis tuis* fugue in the Communion was followed by the return of the opening *Requiem aeternam.* The addition of the fifth movement heightened the parallel to the traditional structure and rounded off the work's inner structure.

Brahms's mastery of form is evident in *Ein deutsches Requiem,* both in his references to the requiem genre and in his ability to structure a work with its own architectural integrity. He did not strictly follow the common practice requiem form; instead, he constructed the work with its own over-arching mirrored structure. Movements one and seven offer hope: *Selig* (blessed) was set in each with similar musical material and textual content. Movements two and six are both long and multi-sectional; both begin in minor keys and are narrative and dramatic in nature. The balance of these two movements is not present in the traditional genre; Brahms's multi-sectional sixth movement functions primarily to balance his second movement, despite the nod to the grandeur of the *Cum sanctis* text. Movements three and five both use soloists to create new textures inside the overall form and to provide moments of personal reflection. Movement four, at the middle of the work, has its own mirror-like structure, ABACA, and the opening vocal melody is an exact inversion of the opening instrumental line.

Within the overall mirrored structure, the fifth movement does not function like a movement added after the work was completed. Brahms recognized the importance of

this addition because it added to the balance and overall architecture of the work. Indeed, Brahms may have completed the fifth movement even before the Bremen premiere, but it was withheld until a private hearing in Zurich.[114] The seven movements together create a solid architectural form, a structure that was possible because Brahms removed the constraint of the Latin text. Brahms used the first four movements to point to the requiem genre and allowed room in the final three movements to complete an architectural mirror. Without the text driving the overall structure, Brahms was freed to refer to the requiem genre *and* to compose an architecturally balanced work.

Although the completed work is longer than a liturgical requiem, the length is not unusual for concert requiems composed in the early nineteenth century (Appendix D: Requiem Length and Movements, 1750-1867). The requiem form had been separated from the limits of liturgical worship long before 1868, and the concert hall placed no time limit on extended works. Brahms pointed to elements of the genre that had evolved *musically*, not to specific liturgical functions. Liturgical time limits are not musical constraints. Brahms's movements are longer than liturgical requiem movements, but are not outside the length of concert movements of the Romantic era, including movements of other requiems. A shorter performance length may have strengthened the reference to the requiem genre, but the extended length, seventy minutes according to Chase,[115] does not negate the requiem genre as the model for this work.

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[114] Musgrave, *Brahms,* 9, 13.

[115] Chase, *Dies Irae,* 540.

Structural parallels to the requiem genre are supported by the use of equivalent performance forces. Extended works for soloists, choir and orchestra were most often mass, oratorio, cantata or requiem in the years leading up to Brahms's Requiem. With his knowledge of historical forms, Brahms possessed the compositional tools to refer musically to any of these forms. He chose to compose a requiem. An oratorio included specific characters, recitative, and a narrative Biblical storyline in several acts; the architecture of *Ein deutsches Requiem* was not built upon the foundations of the oratorio. A cantata included a predominantly choral setting, the use of recitative and aria, and a textual structure including passages commenting or reflecting on the message or action expressed in the text. Although Brahms did compile his German texts from Luther's Bible, no other structural relationship with the cantata exists.

Brahms structured his work in the image of systems of convention related to the requiem genre. The subject matter is clearly death and the texts are clearly Biblical. Brahms built this extended work for the traditional forces of the genre: prominently choral, with soloists providing textural contrast, supported by orchestra. All of these large-scale features of form and forces combined to reference the genre designated in the title. Closer analysis revealed more specific references to the requiem genre in each movement of the work, detailed below.

Musical Elements by Movement

Smaller structural elements present in *Ein deutsches Requiem* point to smaller compositional devices common to the requiem genre. These systems of convention

included references to *stile antico* styles, concertato writing, the use of fugues and tripartite structures, and a return of opening material at the end of the work. Brahms began referencing early music styles in the opening measures of his requiem.

> When the chorus introduces the opening text at bar 15 of movement one, the archaic quality of the sound contrasts sharply with the murky and increasingly dissonant orchestral introduction that precedes it. The pure part writing, suspensions, syllabic overlaps, and modal inflections of the choir evoke music of an earlier era and specifically evoke the *stile antico* motet style of Heinrich Schütz and his mid-seventeenth-century contemporaries.[116]

Brahms followed the path established by generations of requiem composers, utilizing contemporary musical elements alongside references to older musical practices. Contemporary elements in this movement include a pictorial orchestral introduction, accented and elongated dissonances, and the independence of the choir from the expressive orchestral writing. Early music elements include the use of chain suspensions, escape tones, and the vertical spacing of the choral voices.

In the opening section of the first movement, the choir and orchestra move independently of each other, in overlapping *cori spezzati* fashion. The orchestration reinforces this idea, with the string section and woodwind section functioning like two different instrumental choirs alternating with the voices. Brahms also employed text repetition in this opening section to suit his musical and expressive needs, as did many composers who set the Latin text.

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[116] Beller-McKenna, *Brahms and the German Spirit,* 69.

Brahms composed music for the second sentence, *Die mit Thränen säen* (They who sow in tears), that signaled the change in text with a change in texture. The back and forth dialogue established in the opening section was transformed into orchestral doubling of voices with idiomatic orchestral interjections and interplay with the voices. The change in texture at this point in the movement was common practice in the requiem genre. At the moment that *Requiem aeternam* gave way to *Te decet hymnus,* composers like Mozart changed the texture and utilized solos or concertato writing. Brahms did not use soloists at this point, but he did incorporate a distinct change in performance texture. The use of a contrast in texture at the onset of the second line of text references conventional practices of the requiem genre.

Brahms opened the middle section of the first movement with a descending step-wise figure reminiscent of weeping motives of earlier music, such as the "Crucifixus" movement in Bach's B Minor Mass. Again Brahms overlaid contemporary musical devices onto an earlier technique. In this case, the motive leads to an extended diminished sixth, which resolves on a weak beat and overlaps the entrance of the next voice. The cellos and contrabasses fill the extended dissonance with an ascending version of the two-note motive, each sequence rising in pitch before opening to a widely-spaced harmonic texture through a sweeping crescendo. The early music motive prevails but is surrounded by nineteenth-century harmonies, textures, and dynamics. The orchestration also supports Brahms's message; when the text turns from weeping to *Freuden* (joy), the harp becomes prominent for the first time, indicating the joy of heaven after death.

As the polyphony in the middle section comes to a close, Brahms composed a cadence that references polychoral techniques and a Baroque diminuendo. The sopranos and altos cadence first, followed by the tenors and basses who echo the cadence, and finally the cellos and contrabasses complete the cadence. Along with marked dynamic changes, the reduction in performance forces and the descent in pitch add to the diminished dynamic level. Once again, Brahms used contemporary harmonies and syncopated rhythms to set the historical techniques in present-day musical language.

Brahms utilized the common ABA form in this first movement, a form used through the development of the requiem and present in the opening movements of several works (Appendix B: Requiem Forms and Functions, 1750-1867). Brahms once again combined traditional with contemporary practices by disguising the clarity of the three sections. He used motivic material from the A section in a developmental fashion within the B section, a symphonic practice that blurred the line between the two sections. Thematic and harmonic recapitulations do not occur simultaneously; when Brahms returned to the A section, the orchestra and chorus return to thematic material but the key of F does not return until several measures later, in second inversion, prolonging instability until an authentic cadence finally resets the harmonic structure. Even with the authentic cadence the harmonic return is not strong; the lowest pitch is in the treble range and a polyphonic melody begins exactly at the point of arrival in F major. The common early music tripartite structure was an obscured through contemporary structural practices, again combining new techniques and old forms.

In his second movement, Brahms referenced the drama of the Sequence, the second movement of the requiem mass. A French overture dotted rhythm established a complete change of affect, from the hope of the first movement to a gravely serious march. Brahms masterfully composed a march in compound meter by stressing the downbeat of each measure to create a slow militaristic dirge marked by timpani. This dark opening section returns throughout the movement in the style of a Baroque ritornello. Brahms set his texts in clearly marked sections, a tripartite form punctuated with the ritornello that gives way to a brief prelude and joyful fugue. Major sections are demarcated with double bar lines in Baroque-like in affectation, with changes of tempo accompanying changes of mood.

The opening of the second movement clearly references the drama of the Sequence. The prevalence of low brass and timpani create a sense of darkness and judgment. The low tessitura of the unison voices, combined with the unceasing march rhythm, elicits images of a slow funeral procession. The second iteration of the ritornello theme is punctuated by strong ascending leaps by horns in open fifths, over a continuous pedal tone and increased dissonance. The orchestra swells to a dramatic return of the voices, with an upper octave added to increase the tension. The horns continue to punctuate with the ascending leaps.

At the first change in affect, the expressive Romantic orchestration was reduced to soft *colla parte* accompaniment and moments of *a cappella* singing; a return to early music traditions. The harp returns in anticipation of the *Morgenregen und Abendregen* (morning rain and evening rain), in cascading eighth notes to mimic a soft rainfall. The

peace of this section is interrupted by a long, slow brass interjection in low octaves; the darkness of the brass foreshadows the imminent return to the dark opening imagery.

The return to the ritornello provides increased drama, even though the text is repeated from the first section. The listener is returned to the dark inevitability of death, represented by the insistent beating of the timpani. Brahms did not abbreviate the orchestral or vocal sections of this music; the listener must endure the affect in its entirety once again. Just as the Sequence was often broken into separate movements, the return to this opening material could signal the end of a major section of the work. Instead, Brahms inserted a small but important connecting phrase: *Aber des Herrn Wort bleibet in Ewigkeit* (But the word of the Lord endures forever). The importance of this text is discussed in the next section of this chapter. Musically, Brahms employed a Romantic device when he connected these two seemingly separate sections to maintain the integrity of a single movement; Romantic composers such as Liszt often connected contrasting sections into single-movement structures. With this connecting sentence, Brahms turned to hope with the very instruments that had sounded death. A brass fanfare becomes victorious, and leads to the second major part of this movement, a grand fugue.

The second movement fugue dramatically completes Brahms's message, but is not a direct reference to the requiem genre because the Sequence ends with a six-line prayer. At *Freude* (Joy) Brahms added an underlying triplet figure, providing Romantic compound rhythms beneath the grandeur of the fugue. "If the beginning evokes the Gothic severity of Schütz, the end recalls Beethoven's Ode to Joy: *Freude! Freude!*

Freude! They shall find joy!"[117] Brahms contrasted the darkness of the opening dirge with the majesty of the concluding fugue, an example of Romantic extremes of emotion but expressed through references to the early music practices of the requiem genre. The harmonic scheme of the second movement also reflects older musical styles: the initial Bb minor tonality of the funeral dirge is completed with the Bb major fugue, a choice in opposition to the far-removed key relationships of Romantic composers. The music of this movement provides drama and intensity equal to that of dramatic settings of the *Dies irae* poetry, complete with textual and orchestral imagery.

The third movement features a baritone soloist alternating with choral textures. The orchestration was reduced under the soloist and returned to *tutti* with the choir, after the Baroque concertato style. Again the music is sectional, this time referencing the Offertory, which was also sometimes divided into two movements or major sections. Changes of affectation were again marked by double bar lines. Romantic diminished harmonies, triplet figures, and unexpected accents and dynamic contrasts maintain the contemporary flavor over the *stile antico* compositional techniques. The low registers of the initial passages continue the drama of the second movement ritornello, and the orchestral writing is dramatic and expressive; an instrumental comment on the dark text.

Both the initial 2/2 meter and the later 3/2 meter introduced white-note notation into the work. The baritone soloist is featured in this movement, with passages that are aria-like in nature, accompanied by a lighter but expressive orchestration. The orchestra builds to full strength in anticipation of the choir's entrance. A dramatic polyphonic

[117] Swafford, *Johannes Brahms*, 329.

section leads to extended dissonances accented by underlying brass interjections, which give way to upper winds before resolving to an ascending passage reflecting the hope expressed in the final fugue. Throughout the movement, Brahms followed the traditions established by generations of requiem composers: contemporary compositional tools are combined with specific *stile antico* elements. A "neo-Handelian fugue"[118] closes the movement, pointing to the *Quam olim Abrahae* fugues of the Offertory in the traditional requiem. This time the fugue is a pedal fugue, again moving from minor to the parallel major. Brahms prolonged the resolution through diminished seventh harmonies, a technique also found in the music of Bach.

Where the traditional requiem offers the Sanctus, Brahms offered *Wie lieblich sind deine Wohnungen* (How lovely are Thy dwellings), matching the "contemplation of blessedness" found in the center of the requiem.[119] Brahms used choral unisons in a version of concertato writing, and short segments of imitative polyphony decorate the predominantly homophonic texture. Long rhythmic values, half and dotted-half notes, give breadth to the melodic lines, at times resembling white-note writing in the voice lines or in the contrabass part. Brahms used sequences to build upon his motivic material, another Baroque compositional device. Traditional phrase lengths, harmonies, and cadences underscore the chorale-like vocal writing.

Much of the orchestration doubles the voice parts or provides simple rhythmic accompaniment. Homophonic textures are supported by the more simple orchestration of

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[118] Bozarth and Frisch, "Brahms, Johannes," accessed November 12, 2008.

[119] Musgrave, *Brahms*, 4.

this movement, and instrumental passages are based on vocal melodies. These choices are in direct relation to common practice in the Sanctus movement, which was often homophonic and featured the choir. A double fugue begins at *Die loben dich immerdar* (They praise you evermore), equivalent to the fugal *Hosanna in excelsis* that traditionally follows the Sanctus. The faster harmonic rhythm of the fugue provides a Baroque-like drive toward the cadence. A chain of descending suspensions leads to the return of the opening material, now set in the orchestra as the voices soar in paired duets toward the courts of the Lord. Once again the tripartite form was adapted for Romantic expressivity and emotion, and the formal lines were blurred.

The fifth movement points to the Benedictus of the *Missa pro defunctis* through a sense of confident peace and the assurance of blessing. Brahms blurred the tonic in the opening measures through a continual hovering around the dominant seventh. The orchestration is very expressive, supporting the soprano aria. The opening vocal line moves upward in a stepwise motion high above and the choir echoes with a complimentary text, restating the message the soloist offers through a different text. Brahms set the choir antiphonally at times, with the tenors and basses moving in thirds followed by the sopranos and altos in similar motion. For choral passages, the orchestral accompaniment is simple *colla parte* writing; when the soloist returns, the orchestra returns to a more expressive and independent part.

The technical demands for the singer reflect the virtuosity of the Romantic era. The high tessitura and length of phrases place demands on the singer that require a high level of technical mastery. The musical construction of this movement is more complex

than many of the Benedictus movements of earlier requiems, but it does provide a similar opportunity for more virtuosic solo singing. The musical dialogue between the soloist and the choir points to polychoral writing, but it also reflects the use of choral interjections within the solos found in Bach cantatas because the choir sings a complimentary text to that of the soloist. The two texts work together to create a dialogue about comfort, a notion expressed musically through the long phrases and moments of blissful resolution following sustained dissonances.

The length, drama, and sectional nature of the sixth movement balance Brahms's second movement, an architectural design not present in the traditional requiem structure. Still, there are musical facets of this movement that point to some of the genre's systems of convention. The return to dramatic texts toward the end of the work was not unprecedented; portions of the *Libera me* text from the Responsory provide opportunities for dramatic and expressive writing in the traditional outline. In this work, the baritone soloist provides textural variety and leads into the various sections within the movement, creating a dramatic dialogue between soloist and choir. Brahms again changed the affect with each new section, providing constantly unfolding drama throughout the movement.

Brahms employed predominantly Romantic devices in the extended section building up to the sixth movement's final fugue, drawing on contemporary musical language to import heightened dramatic intent. Furious string parts, chromaticism and symphonic writing are prevalent. Yet Brahms continued to incorporate polyphonic vocal textures, retaining his reference to *stile antico* techniques in the midst of his contemporary harmonies and orchestral effects. The baritone soloist interjects briefly,

with syncopated rhythms. The fury resumes, the vocal tessitura rises, the dynamic level stays loud and is accented with *sforzando* markings throughout. In Beethoven-like fashion, Brahms extended the drama again and again, leading toward moments of resolution that immediately turn and move back to the fury. When the final resolution comes, it comes in the form of a grand double fugue in 2/2 time, stately and majestic. The white-note writing finally turns away from Romantic intensity and points toward the climactic grand fugues of the *Cum sanctis* text toward the end of the Latin requiem.

The final *Selig sind die Toten* (Blessed are the dead) is a movement of peace, similar to an added *In paradisum* or a hopeful treatment of the returning *Requiem aeternam* text in the traditional final movement. "This music imparts nothing mournful or doleful, but a mood of quiet assurance and steady confidence."[120] The movement begins with choral unisons, first sopranos and then basses, over a repeated eighth-note accompaniment similar to those of Vivaldi but with a more legato connection and faster harmonic changes. Romantic harmonies are present, as are overlapping cadences and chord progressions. The movement features moments of antiphonal writing with brief *a cappella* sections and choral pairings. Groups of instruments are used to play the role of a second choir or to offer melodic counterpoint above the vocal lines.

The movement is in tripartite form, and the final A section includes a return to material from the first movement just before the final measures. This technique was another commonly held system of convention associated with the requiem genre: "most

[120] Minear, *Death Set to Music*, 69.

have a recall of the opening movement at the end."[121] Brahms again employed a Romantic compositional device with his subtle return to first movement material, but this return is yet another reference to the traditional requiem genre. Imitative entrances are followed by a full four-part choral texture with little instrumentation, mirroring the chorale-like texture of the opening movement. The final cadence is antiphonal: the sopranos and altos cadence, followed by the tenors and basses, and the final cadence rests with the instruments.

Brahms incorporated *stile antico* elements and embraced fugal writing within a larger structure that paralleled the requiem genre. He also incorporated Romantic-era harmonies, dynamics, modulations, rhythms, orchestral effects, and musical breadth. In a Janus-like manner, Brahms referred back to the traditional requiem genre and also looked forward to an expansion of the form by utilizing a contemporary text and contemporary musical language. Like other requiem composers, Brahms incorporated some of the genre's systems of convention while adapting or ignoring others based on his own dramatic purposes, but he did so with an eye on the moments of drama and peace inherent in the traditional requiem structure.

Brahms's compositional techniques point to the *musical* systems of convention based on the requiem genre he inherited. His choices of musical form and content not only connect his work to the requiem genre, but also connect his music to other non-liturgical and concert music. The unified structure is symphonic in nature; the sense of timelessness is especially related to the requiem and mass genres. The extended and

[121] Musgrave, *Brahms*, 4.

elaborate fugues and the drama and majesty of the second and sixth movements, especially, point to the sense of importance that was part of the genre. The soprano and baritone provide moments of soloistic artistry. The symphonic orchestration and extended length are appropriate for the concert hall, where important sacred and secular were performed. The manner in which Brahms designed the overall structure, constructed each movement, and utilized compositional techniques point to the requiem genre *and* support the presentation of this work as an individual musical masterwork.

Systems of Convention Related to Text

Brahms compiled Biblical texts for his requiem[122] but created a universal, rather than explicitly Christian, text. "It was the first in which a composer had selected and shaped his text, for essentially personal resonances, to speak to a contemporary audience in a shared tongue, transcending the constraints of ritual."[123] This is an overstatement; composers had been shaping the text for personal resonances for generations. It is accurate that Brahms's text was the first to used a "shared tongue" to "transcend the constraints of ritual." It also transcended denominations, for in contrast to the *Missa pro defunctis* not one of Brahms's selected texts mentioned Christ. "The Roman Catholic requiem mass prayed for the salvation of the dead from the terror of damnation by intoning the power of Christ and the dogma of the Resurrection."[124] In Brahms's texts,

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[122] Theodore Karp and Basil Smallman, et al, "Requiem Mass," in *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com> (accessed October 7, 2008).

[123] MacDonald, *Brahms*, 196.

[124] Steinberg, *Listening to Reason,* 174-175.

the "focus is less on death than on consolation for the living."[125] Comfort was offered along with an expression of hope for all people who die in the Lord. The language is theistic but not specifically denominational, and incorporated texts from the Old and New Testaments as well as from the Apocrypha (Appendix E: *Ein deutsches Requiem* Texts).

The break from the *Missa de profunctis* text was profound. Earlier German *Singmesse* composers employed German texts which "generally paralleled those of the original Latin requiem,"[126] and continued to follow the outlines of the Catholic service. Because Brahms did not leave many documents regarding his selections, it is impossible to know his reasoning. However his certainty regarding his choices was expressed in a letter to Reinthaler, the organist at the Bremen Cathedral where the work was to be premiered. Reinthaler wanted the work to be more "orthodox,"[127] but Brahms defended his text selections and did not alter his work to suit Reinthaler's desire to include a direct reference to Christ.

Brahms structured the order of his texts, at least in part, to build musical structure.

> The major feature which separates the Brahms text from that of the Latin Mass is the recurrence of its basic themes. The Mass's very lengthy sections with their diverse imagery have often stimulated dramatic musical settings. But Brahms's text is compact and focused, with several key ideas constantly in play.[128]

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[125] Bozarth and Frisch, "Brahms, Johannes," accessed November 12, 2008.

[126] Chase, *Dies Irae*, 531.

[127] Ernest Newman, "Brahms's German Requiem," *The Musical Times* 52, no. 817 (March 1, 1911), 157.

[128] Musgrave, *Brahms*, 4.

Brahms's texts provide statements of hope and comfort on the topic of death, but in a structured, unified manner that was missing among the Latin texts. "Symmetry and unity in the Requiem ultimately stem from its text."[129] Brahms used *Selig sind* (Blessed are) to open and to close his work, referencing the *Requiem aeternam* (Rest eternal) that opens the Introit and returns at the end of the Communion. This was one way Brahms pointed to the requiem genre through the selection and placement of his texts.

Brahms's texts also provided the dramatic materials needed to build an extended choral-orchestral work, and included many of the elements present in the texts of the *Missa pro defunctis*.

> [Brahms's texts] abound in poetic forms filled with images that invite musical expression. They reflect the perspectives of poets, psalmists, and prophets, whose vocation included the double task of voicing both God's speech to human beings … and human responses to God.[130]

Brahms incorporated the inherent drama of the *Dies irae* and *Libera me* texts, and placed them equivalent to the dramatic sections of the requiem mass. Brahms chose texts with a unified message, but also texts abounding in poetic images. Passages from the Psalms offer images of sowing tears and coming again in joy (Psalm 126), contemplation on the number of days in a lifetime (Psalm 39), and a song of praise about the loveliness of God's dwelling place (Psalm 84). The letter writers of the New Testament Epistles used poetic images to make their points: Peter compared flesh to the withering of grass and

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[129] Daniel Beller-McKenna, "The scope and significance of the choral music," in *The Cambridge Companion to Brahms*, edited by Michael Musgrave (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 183.

[130] Minear, *Death Set to Music*, 67.

flowers; James urged patience as the husbandman waits for the fruit of the earth. Paul, the writer of the letter to the Corinthians, provided dramatic prophetic vision regarding the great mystery, the last trumpet, and the transformation of the dead.

Textual Elements by Movement

The architecture of *Ein deutsches Requiem* and its message of comfort, hope, and consolation limit the textual parallels to the judgment and prayers for mercy of the *Missa pro defunctis* highlighted by many composers. There are some settings that omit the Sequence, and several requiems come to a message of comfort by the end of the mass, but the fiery Sequence had become an established part of the genre during the Classical era and was often exploited by composers for dramatic effect. Brahms chose his own messages of comfort and structured his texts to suit his purpose, above continued and obvious references to the texts of the Latin mass. Still, especially in the first half of the work, Brahms pointed to the genre he claimed through text content and structure as well as through his musical content and structure.

The first movement text points to the requiem genre through its length and form. Brahms used the same number of sentences as the traditional Introit and repeated the opening sentence, drawing a parallel to the structure of the Latin text. The title provided a lens through which the listener filtered the text and the music; in this opening movement Brahms provided a text that supported an association with the requiem genre. The Catholic text is framed as a prayer of intercession and includes acknowledgment of God's omnipotence. Brahms's text is framed as a litany of belief in the promises found in God's

Word for all who mourn. Both eternal rest and blessing can be perceived as comforting thoughts, and the third sentence of both texts refers to the dead coming before the Lord. The comparison is shown in Figure 4.

Introit (*Requiem aeternam*)	*Selig sind* (Blessed they)
Rest eternal grant to them, Lord, And light perpetual shine on them.	Blessed are they who mourn, for they shall be comforted.
A hymn befits thee, God in Zion, And to thee a vow shall be fulfilled in Jerusalem.	They who sow in tears shall reap in joy.
Hear my prayer, Unto thee all flesh shall come.	They who go forth weeping and bearing precious seed shall come again with joy, bringing their sheaves with them.
Rest eternal grant to them, Lord, And light perpetual shine on them.	Blessed are they who mourn, for they shall be comforted.

Figure 4: First movement text comparison

Once he decided to create his own text, Brahms could have chosen any number of verses or combination of texts for his first movement. His choice of three sentences, with the first sentence repeated to close the movement, is a clear indication that he viewed this work as a requiem. Brahms intentionally provided this parallel within his first movement text to point his listeners to requiem genre.

The second element of the Latin mass is the Sequence, featuring a poetic text structured in three lines with alternating stressed and unstressed syllables. Brahms's text also alternates stressed and unstressed syllables, but the rhyming words are absent in the German text. To emphasize the similar aspects in meter, he composed a ritornello for the

second movement in compound meter with a half note-quarter note underlying rhythmic pulse. This continual rhythmic pulse mimics the poetic meter of the *Dies irae:* stressed and unstressed beats are consistent in each measure. When the choir enters, the musical rhythm of the text provides another parallel to the requiem genre because stressed and unstressed syllables alternate in established patterns (Figure 5).

Dies irae (Day of wrath)	Denn alles Fleisch (For all flesh)
/ * / * / * / *	[*] / * / * / *
Dies irae, dies illa,	Denn alles Fleisch es ist wie Gras
/ * / * / * / *	[*] / * / * / * / *
Solvet saeclum in favilla:	und alle Herrlichkeit des Menschen
/ * / * / * / *	/ * / * / *
Teste David cum Sibylla.	wie des Grases Blumen.

Figure 5: Second movement text comparison

Brahms transferred a similar poetic meter to musical rhythms, emphasizing the parallel structure of this opening line with the prevailing meter of the Sequence poem.

Brahms's text is also dramatic in content, similar to the Sequence, and features imagery of withering flesh before moving on to a message of hope. Repetition of the opening funeral dirge text reinforces the inherent drama and the meter. Brahms shaped this text for dramatic effect, not for purposes of narrative. As mentioned, Brahms connected the two sections of this movement with a single line of text, a change in direction that turns on one phrase: "But the word of the Lord endures forever." Leaver argued that this statement reflected Brahms's Protestant background:

> In movement 2 it is telling that he should choose not to omit the verse 'But the word of the Lord abides forever (1 Peter 1:25). In its Latin form, *Verbum Domini manet in aeternum*, it became a widely used motto for the Protestant Reformation. It conveyed the primary principle of Protestantism—that Scripture, as the Word of God, and not the decrees of the church, was the sole source for both theology and practical Christian living.[131]

The importance of Brahms's Protestant background is explored in greater detail in the next chapter. Whether or not Brahms used this passage based on his Protestant background, it did speak to Protestant listeners in a meaningful way and was a universally well-known passage.

From this point in his second movement forward, Brahms focused on the promised rejoicing of the Lord's redeemed people. The grand concluding fugue in this movement lies in stark contrast to the concluding prayer in the Latin text, which asks for mercy after extended contemplation of the terrors of judgment. Textual parallels of meter and content occured predominantly in the first section of this movement. In the second section, the message of comfort and hope is dramatically different from the judgment and condemnation of the *Dies irae,* but the expressivity of the music incorporates inherent intensity and drama that extend the overall reference to the Sequence.

The third movement text structure also parallels the Latin structure. The Offertory, *Domine, Jesu Christe* (Lord Jesus Christ), is an intercessory prayer for the souls of the dead. Part of the prayer calls upon God to remember his promise of salvation to Abraham and his descendents. Brahms's text does not reflect the Catholic belief in purgatory and the need for intercessory prayer on behalf of the dead; instead, Brahms

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[131] Leaver, "Brahms's opus 45," 633.

began with a baritone soloist who offered a personal plea to the Lord: *Herr, Lehre doch mich* (Lord, make me to know). In this plea, the soloist acknowledges the limitations of mankind and the omnipotence of God. Similar to the Offertory text Brahms's movement offers a lingering time of pleading in prayer, a brief interjection in which all is left to the Lord, and then a time of reflection on the hope of eternal life. The similarity in the number of sentences and the content of each section is detailed in Figure 6.

Domine Jesu Christe (Lord Jesus Christ)	*Herr, Lehre doch mich* (Lord, make me to know)
Lord Jesus Christ, King of glory, liberate the souls of all faithful departed from the pains of hell and from the deep pit: deliver them from the mouth of the lion; let not hell swallow them up, let them not fall into darkness: But let Michael, the holy standard-bearer, bring them into the holy light, which once thou promised to Abraham and to his seed.	Lord, make me to know, that my life must have an end, and the number of my days, that I may know my frailty. Behold, You have made my days as handbreaths, and my age is as nothing before You. Truly, each lifetime is nothing at all, even those who seem secure. They go forward in a vain show, and they are disquieted in vain; heaping up wealth and not knowing whose it will finally be.
Sacrifices and prayers of praise, O Lord, we offer to thee.	Now, Lord, what do I wait for? My hope is in You.
Receive them, Lord, on behalf of those souls we commemorate this day. Grant them, O Lord, to pass from death unto life, which once thou promised to Abraham and to his seed.	The souls of the righteous are in the hand of God, and there no torment shall touch them.

Figure 6: Third movement text comparison

The theological foundation of the texts is different, but Brahms drew connections to the requiem text through his selection of the same number of sentences, with a similar content. In this movement he retained the progression of the text, passing through despair

toward hope in God's promises concerning the disposition of the soul. Brahms's decision to include a prayer at this stage of the work and to structure it in a manner similar to the Latin text provides more evidence of the relationship between his texts and those of the traditional requiem, despite the differences in theological perspective.

The fourth movement lies at the center of Brahms's seven-movement structure, parallel to the Sanctus movement of the Latin mass. Once again, Brahms's text is similar in length, structure, and meaning to that of the traditional requiem. The Sanctus text dwells on the holiness of the Lord of hosts, the presence of his glory in heaven and on earth, and offers a song of praise in *Hosanna in excelsis*. Brahms chose texts that also refer to the Lord of hosts, speak about the beauty of the Lord's courts (heaven), and conclude with a song of praise: *die loben dich immerdar* (they praise you forever). The three sentences of the Sanctus with its *Hosanna* are very brief, and although Brahms's sentences are longer, each section still contains one sentence of Scripture (Figure 7).

Sanctus (Holy)	*Wie lieblich* (How lovely)
Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts.	How lovely is thy dwelling place, Lord of Hosts!
Heaven and earth are full of thy glory.	My soul longs and yearns for the courts of the Lord: my flesh and my soul are joyful in the living God.
Hosanna in the highest.	Blessed are they who live in thy house, they praise you forever.

Figure 7: Fourth movement text comparison

The textual parallels throughout the first four movements are subtle, but they are also continuous. The ongoing presence of structural similarity and similarity in content is evidence that Brahms was semiotically aware of the requiem when he selected and structured his texts. Although Brahms selected passages that expressed a different theological foundation than those of the Latin mass, the subject matter was still a reflection about death. Brahms's text, like that of the *Missa pro defunctis,* was couched in a language of prayer, reverence, and dramatic imagery. This provided a parallel language to that found in the traditional requiem.

After the fourth movement some textual references continue to be evident, but architectural symmetry and unity within the work take precedence over direct correlation to the requiem text. Overall structure and architectural concerns may have also influenced composers who chose to include a Responsory or Pie Jesu, or to link the Agnus Dei and the Communion. In Brahms's work, the internal mirrored structure was foundational and took precedence over references to the requiem genre, especially in the last few movements. Still, some correlations between the two texts do arise.

The inserted fifth movement features the soprano soloist, with a text that is more personal than those of the Latin mass. This mirrors the baritone's personal plea in the third movement, but it also provides moments of peace similar to the blessing of a Benedictus. The personal nature of these texts reflects the Protestant belief in direct access to God, as compared with the Catholic belief in the need for an intercessor, but does not override the similar content and structure to the corresponding Latin texts. The prayers come from a different source, but Brahms took care to include them and to

structure them in the equivalent movement. Brahms's assurances of comfort were inserted parallel to the blessing of the Benedictus.

The sixth movement is sectional and dramatic like the second movement. It was in this movement that Brahms referenced the trumpet found in the *Tuba mirum* of the traditional Sequence. Although he did not mention Christ, the text of this movement celebrates the victory over death achieved through the resurrection (Appendix E: *Ein deutsches Requiem* Texts). The sixth movement fugue, *Herr, du bist würdig* (Lord, Thou art worthy), was placed at the high point of the celebration, and turned the celebration back to a reference to the requiem genre: to the culminating *Cum sanctis tuis* fugues found in many eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Communion movements. As previously mentioned, the final *Selig sind die Toten* refers back to the opening *Selig sind,* and the peacefulness of the text not only completed Brahms's message but also closed the work with a final reference to the structure of the traditional genre.

As structural references to the requiem gave way to Brahms's desire for a unified overall form, Brahms turned to familiarity and context to continue to provide a textual frame of reference for his listeners. The I Corinthians text in movement six ("Behold I tell you a mystery") and the Revelation 14 text in movement seven ("Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord") were both used in the service on All Souls Day, an annual mass at which a requiem was presented.[132] These texts were also prevalent outside of the Catholic denomination: the I Corinthians text was "universally part of Protestant burial rites,"[133]

[132] Jeffers, *Sacred Latin Texts,* 62.

[133] Leaver, "Brahms's opus 45," 634.

and the Revelation 14 text was one of "the most commonly used texts set to music for the burial" in the Anglican funeral service.[134] When he placed these two texts in the final movements, Brahms reiterated his commitment to a universal message and rounded out his unique message and structure. As the internal text structure strayed farther away from that of the requiem mass, Brahms employed certain texts associated with the funeral services of several denominations.

Brahms conceived of his work as belonging to the requiem genre. In both musical structure and in his choice and setting of texts, Brahms continually referred to systems of convention of the genre. Musgrave hinted at the idea of Brahms pointing to–or placing his work alongside–the requiem genre in *Brahms: A German Requiem*: "Against this German background it becomes of interest that Brahms used the Latin term 'Requiem' at all." Continuing, Musgrave theorized that Brahms's use of the term "may have been prompted by the work's symphonic scope, by the desire to place it alongside the great requiem mass settings of the past."[135] Although he did not elaborate on this idea, Musgrave drew a conclusion about Brahms's desire—his semiotic awareness—to associate his work with the requiem mass settings of the past.

Brahms indicated this desire through the use of the term "requiem" *as a sign*. "Perhaps the most basic semiotic term, and one with the least stable meaning, is the sign. Peirce defined it as 'something which stands to somebody for something in some respect

[134] Chase, *Dies Irae*, 569.

[135] Musgrave, *Brahms*, 4.

or capacity.'"[136] Brahms offered the term in his title as a signifier, not as a literal descriptor of musical form. He employed the term symbolically, relying on his listeners to bring their own understanding of the form to the experience of his music, to be tested and considered in light of his work. He then structured his work so that his music and text supported his frame of reference, pointing to the musical genre despite the absence of its primary system of convention, the Latin text.

[136] Agawu, *Playing with Signs,* 16.

CHAPTER V

EXPLAINING THE HOW: CULTURAL CONTEXT

Brahms exhibited semiotic consciousness when he used "requiem" as a signifier in his title. He utilized systems of convention related to both musical and textual structures to refer to the requiem genre. These references enabled his audience to understand the word as a topic—a sign rather than a literal name. According to Danesi, "to gain any true understanding of what something means, it is necessary to unravel how it came into existence in the first place, to what code it belongs, and how it has been represented."[137] A brief survey of background and cultural information surrounding *Ein deutsches Requiem* outlines the context or code to which the work belongs. Whole books have been written on each topic that informs cultural context: German political and religious history, musical lineage, musical form in the nineteenth-century, expansion of the term "requiem" in other musical works and in literature, and Brahms's biographical, compositional, and personal histories. These topics cannot be explored in depth within this document, but significant related information clarifies the context through which Brahms could expect "requiem" to function as a sign.

Brahms initiated a shift in the requiem genre because he communicated elements of the genre while he reached out to those outside of the traditional requiem audience. His ability to communicate effectively was supported by his interest in historical forms and

[137] Danesi, *The Quest for Meaning,* 142.

genres, influenced by his family and his country, and informed by his wide intellectual interests. A study of these influencing factors provides context surrounding the moment of signification for the term "requiem" and enables a more complete semiotic study of *Ein deutsches Requiem.*

Politics and Religion

Germany had long been a politically fragmented empire. The nation was divided into many smaller regions, each with its own governmental authority. Because there was no central government, no single authority against which the people could revolt, the development of a national identity during the Romantic era was formed through means other than political revolution. The search for a national identity in post-Enlightenment Germany was profoundly influenced by cultural Protestantism. "From its beginnings as a political movement, German nationalism was imbued with a Protestant confessional flavor."[138] Elements of the sacred entered into the culture as a basis for expressing nationality, an innate connection with other German-speaking people. Cultural Protestantism became important in the search for a national German identity because for the people of the various regions within the German empire, cultural connections became the glue that held them together as one people.

Cultural nationalism emerged in the latter half of the eighteenth century, associated in Germany with Johann Gottfried Herder. "Reacting against the earlier

[138] Christopher Clark, "Religion," in *Germany 1800-1870 (The Short Oxford History of Germany),* edited by Jonathan Sperber (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 180.

predominance of French language and culture, Herder stressed the notion of a cultural community, a *Volk*."[139] The idea of nationalism as defined by a cultural community gained support in the early twentieth century as scholars studied the revolutions of the previous half-century.

> At the risk of oversimplification we can see that nations fall into one of two categories: the cultural or the political. This division was famously formulated by Friedrich Meinecke in his *Welthürgertum und Nationalstaat* (1907) and it has persisted in various forms ever since. Meinecke distinguished between 'nations that are primarily based on some jointly experienced cultural heritage [*Kulturnation*], and nations that are primarily based on the unifying force of a common political history and constitution [*Staatsnation*]'.[140]

A drive for nationalism based on cultural commonalities placed focus on the people, or the folk, rather than on political structure or national leaders.

This type of nationalism was not dependent upon political or military upheaval. Instead, nationalists engaged in an introspective survey to determine their own cultural characteristics. As Smith argued, "'More than a style and doctrine of politics, nationalism is a *form of culture*—an ideology, a language, mythology, symbolism and consciousness.'"[141] Nationalist introspection regarding cultural characteristics was a means for identifying common denominators among the people. In Germany, imbued with cultural Protestantism, this introspection included commonalities of faith. Cultural

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[139] Mary Fullbrook, *A Concise History of Germany,* 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 93.

[140] Michael Murphy, "Introduction," in *Musical Constructions of Nationalism: Essays on the History and Ideology of European Musical Culture 1800-1945,* Harry White and Michael Murphy, eds. (Cordk, Ireland: Cork University Press, 2001), 3.

[141] Ibid., 5.

Protestantism enabled Brahms to address "all of mankind"—the *Volk*—through Biblical passages widely used across Germany. Brahms's avoidance of any mention of Christ therefore reflects his cultural, rather than theological or denominational, spirituality.

The primary presence of cultural nationalism does not imply the absence of military revolution. Napoleon's military conquests against the Roman Empire had a tremendous impact on Germany.

> For political, intellectual, and cultural developments, the years around 1800 marked a major point of discontinuity in modern German history. The Napoleonic destruction of the Holy Roman Empire and its replacement with a system of sovereign and increasingly interventionist states was the largest and most dramatic of these changes.[142]

Throughout the century, unrest grew until war began with Prussia. The already diverse regional authorities were divided further following the many military upheavals during the mid- to late-nineteenth century.

> One could argue that the complexities inherent in 'the German question' were especially vexing in the Habsburg lands, where the traumatic events that followed in the wake of the 1848 Revolution—the war with Prussia of 1866, the division of the Empire with the Hungarian Compromise of 1867, and the founding of Bismarck's German state under Prussia in 1871—had the effect of splintering Austria's German-speaking subjects into Habsburg loyalists, *großdeutsch* nationalists, and numerous shades in between.[143]

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[142] Jonathan Sperber, "Introduction," in *Germany 1800-1870 (The Short Oxford History of Germany)*, edited by Jonathan Sperber (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 17.

[143] Kevin C. Karnes, *Music, Criticism, and the Challenge of History: Shaping Modern Musical Thought in Late Nineteenth-Century Vienna* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 160.

For Brahms and the audience of 1868, cultural nationalism and military conquest were both present entities. Brahms sought to communicate a universal message, and his audience was positioned to receive elements from both Catholicism and Protestantism in *Ein deutsches Requiem*. For the German people, finding unity and a national spirit meant dealing with divisions that had existed for centuries, divisions that included different religions authorized by the variety of political leaders within their nation.

The absence of a single national German government also meant that there was no national church shaping sacred liturgy and music. The diminishment of Catholic rule in Germany was unlike that in any other European country in that no other denomination took its place as the state-associated religion. This process occurred over centuries, beginning in 1520 when Martin Luther became the "chief advocate of the widespread desire in Germany for a renewed church independent of Rome."[144] Despite Luther's prominence, Germany's fragmented political system prevented Protestantism from becoming a national institution. "In England, France and Spain royal authority had vanquished the universal church well before Luther's time, and religion had entered the service of the state. In Germany, however, a national church could not emerge where no national state existed."[145] Religious authority in Germany was decentralized, varying among the smaller territories and principalities that made up the empire and therefore playing a smaller role in the sense of national identity or authority.

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[144] Diether Raff, *A History of Germany From the Medieval Empire to the Present,* translated by Bruce Little (Oxford: Berg, 1988), 23.

[145] Ibid.

Although Protestantism did not become a national religion, Luther's Bible did become a unifying force throughout Germany. "On all sides Protestant communities clustered around Luther's translation of the Bible. [It] created a written standard for the German language that became universally accepted despite numerous differences in the spoken dialects."[146] Thus even in Catholic-dominated German regions, the unified German language that prevailed was rooted in the language of Martin Luther and his Bible. The cultural impact of this Bible's language resurfaces later in this chapter, in relation to the text of Lechner's *Deutsche Spruch von Leben und Tod* (German Sayings on Life and Death), part of Brahms's musical heritage.

The unification of the German language and the widespread cultural impact of Luther's book had another impact on German culture over the course of time: a form of secularized religion that belonged to the people rather than to any religious authority.

> It is important to recognize, however, that a form of secularized Protestantism persisted even when regular observance and the dictates of spirituality had disappeared. What historians call 'cultural Protestantism' was an extraordinarily powerful force among the middle classes. It was eminently compatible with the culture of progress. German culture *was* Protestant. The Reformation was never far below the surface of educated discourse.[147]

Luther's Bible and the Reformation impacted Germans across denominational lines. Diverse German dialects were standardized into a common German language and religion was planted firmly within the middle class, removed from the control of the state.

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[146] Raff, *A History of Germany,* 24.

[147] David Blackbourn, *The Long Nineteenth Century: A History of Germany, 1780-1918* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 293.

Discourse on religious subjects had long been part of the culture by 1868. Brahms's audience was culturally prepared to hear a sacred message in a secular venue, because discussions on religious themes had informed their national culture for generations. Whether Protestant or Catholic, this audience was accustomed to encountering sacred topics in daily discourse. Brahms's universal message was culturally appropriate for his audience: it utilized a Catholic form and texts from a Protestant Bible to present a universal message, remaining true to the German tradition of diverse denominations coexisting under one empire.

Although religion was not under a central authority, the centrality of religion among the German people cannot be denied. Belief in God was part of the fabric of German society in spite of the lack of a centralized church.

> No survey of the development of German culture in the century and a half following the Peace of Westphalia can begin without first acknowledging the supreme importance of religion, which after the Thirty Years War and beyond all differences which separated the various confessions, remained the single most clearly identifiable concern of all individuals and groups in all territories and at all levels of German society. It is impossible to understand the spirit of the age without first realizing that Germans still took their religions very seriously indeed.[148]

This focus on religion was pervasive but not forced. The resulting culture valued spirituality while recognizing the different beliefs of their fellow countrymen. The result was a kind of religious tolerance that became part of the German culture. "In both Catholic and Protestant Germany, but especially in the latter, religious toleration was

[148] John Gagliardo, *Germany Under the Old Regime, 1600-1790* (London: Longman Group UK, 1991), 177.

solicited by nearly all enlightened personalities."[149] Decentralized religion and personal spirituality was not deemed common or naïve by authorities; instead, it figured prominently into educated discourse.

As moral authority for all churches declined during the Enlightenment, the situation in Germany remained unique.

> What was missing in Germany, compared to other European nations such as England and France, were social and political mass movements, some tangible political or social crystallization of the Enlightenment (i.e., democratization), or any coherent tradition of cultural populism.[150]

The long-standing smaller divisions within Germany and its history of cultural Protestantism enabled the continuity of religion through the revolutionary era, because lost authority within the government was not directly tied to the church. Moral authority rested in the hands of the middle class and was part of educated discussion; the failure or disintegration of central religious institutions did not undermine the inherently religious base of the German people. Spirituality was an attribute of the middle class; it was separated from revolution against ruling classes or centralized authority.

When revolution did come to the German lands, it therefore resulted in transformed religion rather than abolished religion. The German people incorporated religious beliefs into their personal lives in a way that allowed religion to be transformed when the people were transformed, rather than abolished when government authority was

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[149] Gagliardo, *Germany Under the Old Regime,* 381.

[150] Michael Gilbert, "Toward a national culture; Music, literature, and German Romantic nationalism," in *A yearbook of interdisciplinary studies in the fine arts* 2 (1990), 32.

abolished. "As a result, Brahms and his German contemporaries inherited a culture in which it was possible to be 'religious' in a broad, nondogmatic sense, without holding to the particular tenets of Christianity."[151] Cultural Protestantism lived side-by-side with the Holy Roman Empire in Germany, and the result was a land in which religious differences were part of the culture. Brahms experienced a unique religious climate: one in which he could address spirituality beyond a specific denomination and still be considered within the boundaries of his national culture.

In a sense, acceptance of spiritual discourse in the public realm during the Romantic era was an extension of long-standing religious practice in Germany. The religious context for Brahms's universal requiem was one of acknowledged differences, an understanding of at least two major denominations (Catholic and Protestant), and a sense of spirituality that pervaded everyday life, beyond the sanctuary walls. Luther's Bible was part of the German experience, regardless of personal adherence to Lutheranism; his Bible also served as the translation used by other Protestant denominations and informed the establishment of a national language. Cultural religion in Germany provided a universal platform for the discussion and consideration of sacred topics, including the disposition of the soul after death.

Not only did Brahms have reason to expect his audience to be somewhat familiar with the Catholic liturgical requiem form, he could also expect them to be familiar with at least some of the scriptural passages selected from Luther's Bible. Brahms chose texts that reflected a universal approach to faith. Although Christ is central to both Catholicism

[151] Beller-McKenna, "How 'deutsch' a Requiem?," 7.

and Protestantism, Brahms's search for a universal expression led him to omit references to Christ in his requiem. This new approach to a sacred genre grew out of the cultural context of late nineteenth-century Germany. Because the culture was open to unifying characteristics, Brahms was present at a moment in history in which he could expect his listeners to hear his approach as a means of universal expression. In this sense, *Ein deutsches Requiem* was the most culturally relevant type of requiem in the Romantic era.

> Nineteenth century nationalism was an inherently modernizing and liberalizing force driven by the ideal that a legitimate state be based on a 'people' rather than a dynasty, God, or imperial domination. A Requiem based on the Latin text of circa 1570 would seem utterly incongruous with this historical moment.[152]

When Brahms identified "requiem" as the topic and then pointed to the form in both textual and musical languages, he underscored the commonalities between different denominations to an audience who lived in a nation of different denominations.

Moreover, music rose in importance to become an integral part of German cultural expression. Just as Protestantism became part of the middle class German culture, so Germans embraced music as part of their unique heritage. "As Zeitblom, the narrator of *Doctor Faustus*, points out: 'In Germany music enjoys that respect among the people which in France is given to literature'."[153] As Germans defined themselves culturally, music became a primary means of national connection. "In other words, the rise of the middle class musical culture coincides with a gradual nationalization of

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[152] O'Connor, "An Adornian Interpretation," 63.

[153] Hans Rudolf Vaget, "National and Universal: Thomas Mann and the Paradox of 'German' Music," in *Music and German National Identity*, Celia Applegate and Pamela Potter, eds. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 159.

German musical culture, a process with complex cultural and political roots which in turn leaves its mark on German literature and philosophy."[154] Music became both a reflection of and a primary vehicle for philosophical and national dialogue in a way that was unique to the German people.

> [It] appears that the crucible of this intriguing linkage between *Musik* and *Deutschtum* is a socio-political and cultural situation unique to Germany in the later eighteenth century: a hopelessly fragmented political non-entity subject to unrelenting aristocratic domination, but one which at the same time manifests an extraordinary degree of cultural refinement *(Bildung)*, which together with other 'internalizing' influences … leads to a pronounced tendency toward subjective, abstract cultural and philosophical idealism.[155]

In relation to Brahms's Requiem, both composer and audience were influenced toward cultural idealism. Brahms expected his work to be heard as a unifying, philosophical statement because the culture supported musical philosophical expression, cultural idealism, and a kind of secular theology that belonged to all people.

Thus, even though Germany was in the midst of military revolution in 1868, German nationality was still deeply rooted in the cultural aspects of their lands. Brahms and his audience were not unaffected by political unrest; in fact, they were in the middle of military revolution through the war with Prussia and the division of the German empire into new territories and boundaries. Brahms's expression of unity cannot be viewed as unrelated to these military events. On the contrary, a unified expression of hope in life after death might have seemed especially poignant in that time and place.

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[154] Gilbert, "Toward a national culture," 30.

[155] Ibid., 32.

Brahms was proud to be German, and was fully aware of political events. "Throughout his life, Brahms studied the history of his nation and maintained an active interest in the current state of his nation."[156] But for Brahms and his audience, Germany was better defined by her cultural commonalities and history than by well-defined borders or a central government. Music was a cultural commodity through which Germans expressed philosophical ideas, and in which they took national pride.

Politically and theologically, Brahms and his German audience were culturally prepared for a sacred discourse that combined denominational aspects and characteristics to create a message that was intended to be universally meaningful. In no other European country had Catholicism and Protestantism existed side by side, both freed from association with the authority of a central government. This context is important for both the inception and reception of a sacred genre as a topic rather than as a dictated structure. Compositionally, Brahms was freed from strict authoritarian forms even within the realm of sacred music. Philosophically, Brahms expected his audience to understand enough about both denominations to comprehend his musical and textual references. The act of creating a symbol includes semiotic consciousness on the part of the composer and the ability to decode the message on the part of the listener.[157] Through the political and religious climates within Germany, both sides of the equation were part of a cultural context that facilitated both processes.

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[156] Eduard Hanslick, "Memories and Letters," in *Brahms and His World,* edited by Walter Frisch, translated by Susan Gillespie (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 176.

[157] Kramer, *Classical Music,* 69.

Musical Lineage

The musical context surrounding *Ein deutsches Requiem* also contributes to an understanding of the culture surrounding Brahms and his audience. Once again, this aspect of the study highlights the importance of Brahms's nation: in Germany, musical lineage ran deep. After the Thirty Years War, the 1648 Peace of Westphalia "crystallized the territorial fragmentation of German politics."[158] Smaller territories fell under diverse rules of law and Germany operated without a unifying political authority, but by this time Protestants and Catholics were more geographically defined. "Northern Germany remained predominantly Protestant while Catholicism prevailed in the south, in Austria, Bohemia, Moravia, Bavaria and the Upper Palatinate."[159] This divide had an impact on German music: composers writing sacred music in Austria or other southern regions were more likely to follow traditional Catholic liturgical forms while composers in northern Germany developed forms such as the chorale and cantata. German composers moving from north to south in their own country were exposed to both traditions, and both were part of their national heritage.

Brahms had a keen interest in German musical heritage, a lens through which his musical and historical studies were filtered.

> His interest was actually something less than universal, especially in the area of vocal music. Although he made periodic attempts to learn foreign languages, especially Italian, he was comfortable and confident only in German. His library of early music reflects both his enthusiasms and his limitations … There is no

[158] Fullbrook, *A Concise History of Germany*, 68.

[159] Raff, *A History of Germany*, 29.

> vocal music by French or English composers except for Byrd's 'Non nobis Domine.' Much music by Italian composers appears … but this is mostly sacred music, in Latin.[160]

Brahms's study of early vocal music reflected the sacred German culture: Protestant German forms and liturgical Latin forms. Specific to a semiotic analysis of *Ein deutsches Requiem* are the forms of funeral music found throughout Germany that may have impacted the reception Brahms's work. Whether or not specific works influenced Brahms in his compositional approaches, the existence and widespread knowledge of other types of funeral music impacted his culture and provided a common context through which Brahms could communicate with his listeners. The success of his references depended in part on the ability of his listeners to put his cues into the context he envisioned.

Protestants retained very few sacred rites following the split from Catholicism. Parts of the traditional Mass service were continued, with composers such as Schütz incorporating these acceptable texts into early Protestant funeral music. His *Musikalische Exequien* begins with a Kyrie and Gloria, but then continues on with other sacred texts.[161] The divide was distinctly more decisive with regard to the requiem. "It is important to note that although both the Lutheran and Anglican churches maintained some form of the regular mass liturgy after their break with Rome, they had both abolished the use of the traditional Latin requiem mass."[162] Protestant funerals required the adaptation of

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[160] Virginia Hancock, *Brahms's Choral Compositions and His Library of Early Music* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1983), 108-109.

[161] Chase, *Dies Irae*, 52.

[162] Ibid., xvii.

acceptable Roman Catholic movements from the Mass Ordinary or the composition of new music utilizing completely new forms and texts.

The earliest known Protestant work on the subject of death was composed by Leonhard Lechner (c.1553-1606), entitled *Deutsche Spruch von Leben und Tod*[163] (German Sayings on Life and Death). The text consists of fifteen German sayings or aphorisms (Appendix F: Lechner Text), each one set in a four-part, motet-style.[164] Several of these sayings reflect identical messages to the scriptures Brahms chose for his universal requiem. These are highlighted in Figure 8.

Wir Menschen reisen gleich armen Waisen die sind mit Sorgen ungwiss wo morgen.
(We humans travel like poor orphans, burdened with grief, uncertain about tomorrow.)

In Gottes Handen alls steht zu enden; sein wir geduldig, erwarten schuldig.
(All is in God's hands in the end, therefore be we patient, expect to be found guilty.)

Was jetzt im laufen liegt bald zu haufen, das sich schicken all Augenblicken.
(What now in life's course is soon to be heaped-up, will come to pass in an instant.)

Nach diesem Leiden, er ewig Freuden uns schenkt ohnfehlig. Dann sind wir selig.
(After this suffering, He will send eternal joy without fail. Then we are blessed.)[165]

Figure 8: Excerpts from "Deutsche Spruch von Leben und Tod"

Brahms's texts express similar thoughts: traveling like poor orphans is equivalent to having no place here on earth; all is in the hand of God and patience is required from the

[163] Chase, *Dies Irae,* 527.

[164] Ibid., 528.

[165] Ibid., 528-529

living; the 'heaping up' of life will pass in an instant; and the expectation of the blessedness of eternal joy. Significantly, Lechner and Brahms both used texts directed at the living regarding their response to death, rather than focusing on the dead. These expressions and the ideas behind them come from "German sayings," beliefs prominent throughout German culture centuries before Brahms tapped into them to create his universal message. These ideas are also expressed in Luther's Bible, an indication of the depth to which Luther's Bible permeated German culture.

The most well-known early example of German funeral music is Heinrich Schütz's *Musikalische Exequien* (1635). Its direct influence on Brahms's composition aside, this work illustrates the unique musical and theological culture in Germany: Schütz adopted parts of the Latin mass and placed them alongside Lutheran hymn texts and scriptures. In addition, the Latin texts were set to Lutheran chorale melodies.[166] In a work written specifically for a Protestant funeral service, musical references and Protestant texts were merged with some of the traditional Catholic Latin mass movements. Despite the distinct break with the Catholic funeral liturgy, parts of the liturgical requiem reached beyond the boundaries of the Catholic sanctuary out into the Protestant culture.

Although nothing is in evidence documenting Brahms's knowledge of or familiarity with *Musikalische Exequien* when he was working on *Ein deutsches Requiem*,[167] the impact of Schütz's work on Protestant funeral music provides context for both Brahms and his audience. *Musikalische Exequien* highlights an approach common

[166] Chase, *Dies Irae*, 529.

[167] Michael Musgrave, "Historical Influences in the Growth of Brahms's 'Requiem'," *Music and Letters* 53:1 (January 1972), 3.

among Protestant composers: the combination of selected scripture verses to create a unified text. In the Kyrie and Gloria movements, the inserted texts come from throughout Luther's Bible, incorporating Psalms and other Old Testament scriptures as well as New Testament passages on the Resurrection and the fulfillment of God's promise of salvation. At least some of the passages were chosen by the work's "dedicatee, Prince Heinrich Posthumus of Reuss, following a not unusual practice" and were inscribed on his coffin.[168] *Musikalische Exequien* concludes with a setting of *Selig sind die Toten* (Blessed are the dead), another well-known and much-used passage; the same text Brahms chose for the final movement of *Ein deutsches Requiem*.

In addition to *Musikalische Exequien,* Schütz composed other funeral works on Biblical texts. Brahms was aware of some of these works, at least two of which used texts Brahms later employed.[169] *Wie lieblich* (How lovely) and *Die mit Thränen säen* (They who sow in tears) were used in the *Psalmen Davids* (1619); and *Die mit Thränen säen* and *Selig sind die Toten* appeared in the *Geistliche Chormusik* (1648).[170] The presence of these texts in the context of the funeral service is relevant to a semiotic study because it provides insight into cultural practices. Brahms's knowledge of specific works with specific texts is less important to the study if the texts were widely used; it was the presence of these texts within the culture that enabled Brahms to use them as common or universal messages. Schütz used *Die mit Thränen säen* at least twice; Scheidt (1593-

[168] Karp and Smallman, et al, "Requiem Mass," accessed November 12, 2008.

[169] Hancock, *Brahms's Choral Compositions,* 127.

[170] Leaver, "Brahms's opus 45," 619.

1661) used *Selig sind die Toten* in 1650, a text that was also "repeatedly utilized in motet settings by numerous composers."[171] The widespread use of the texts Brahms eventually chose is an indication of his intention to create a universal work, a requiem with texts culturally relevant for a wide range of people, rather than a personal testament utilizing his own favorite passages.

Brahms was raised in a Protestant household. Had he wished to create a Protestant work, he would have included other widely used texts about the resurrection such as "I know that my Redeemer liveth," also used in *Musikalische Exequien* and many other funeral works. Martin Luther "proposed that funerals should have an extensive Biblical content, declare the hope of resurrection, and be expressed in musical form."[172] Brahms used exclusively Biblical content and, though he did not mention Christ, his texts did declare the hope of eternal life beyond death. But to declare the hope of resurrection without mention of Christ is so unique that this intentional omission removes Brahms's work from the Protestant realm and places it out into the greater culture.

> Due to the precise selection and juxtaposition of the Biblical quotations, the Christian implication of the text is considerably weakened. In effect, the Requiem is entirely bereft of dogmatic religiosity. Though the texts are Lutheran in origin, a universality of experience is engendered that ultimately oversteps the limits of organized religion.[173]

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[171] Chase, *Dies Irae*, 529.

[172] Leaver, "Brahms's opus 45," 617.

[173] O'Connor, "An Adornian Interpretation," 63.

Brahms was able to address many people of many faiths through widely-used scriptural texts. He did not choose passages to communicate a message from a personal viewpoint or from a single religious perspective.

Musically, no single form emerged as a Protestant version of the Latin requiem. "Through a gradual transition, the Lutherans eventually replaced the traditional Roman requiem with other musical forms, including the motet, the cantata, the oratorio, and an extensive variety of memorial musical styles."[174] Protestant composers such as Hassler, Scheidt, Schein, and Praetorius used the motet or cantata in the course of the funeral service,[175] continuing to select their own texts from Luther's Bible. This was common practice into later seventeenth-century cantatas,[176] reaching a peak with the cantatas of Johann Sebastian Bach.

Of the major composers from the Baroque and Classical eras, only Bach was closely tied to the Protestant church. "While Handel settled in England, and Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven were largely based in Catholic Vienna, Johann Sebastian Bach represents the heights of north German Protestant musical expression."[177] As Brahms studied Bach's works, he would have come across many of the texts he ultimately chose for *Ein deutsches Requiem*. The same texts used earlier by Schütz are also found in the cantatas of Bach: *Wie lieblich* and *Selig sind die Toten* were both used by Bach, and *Die mit Thränen säen* was set twice. In addition, Bach used "other of the *Requiem* texts in the

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[174] Chase, *Dies Irae*, 529.

[175] Ibid., xviii.

[176] Leaver, "Brahms's opus 45," 621.

[177] Fullbrook, *A Concise History of Germany*, 93-94.

German originals or in paraphrase form."[178] Cantata 106 "uses the text of Brahms's third movement in an alternative version from Psalm 90,"[179] and Cantata 27 sets "the text 'Wer weiss wie nah emir mein Ende' [which] is a paraphrase of one of the biblical passages which Brahms was to use in the 'Requiem', 'Herr, lehre doch mich'."[180] Bach's influence on Brahms is noted, but the presence of these texts is more instructive with regard to the cultural awareness surrounding *Ein deutsches Requiem.* Brahms may have chosen these texts based on their explicitly universal messages, but he was also tapping into German culture itself by selecting texts that had been used time and again over generations.

The history of Protestant funeral music is relevant with regard to *Ein deutsches Requiem* more as cultural context for both composer and audience than as evidence of direct musical lineage. Structurally, *Ein deutsches Requiem* was modeled on the Latin requiem. The fugues, contrasting textures, overall length, and the order of the movements were derived from the liturgical requiem form; the texts were derived primarily from Protestant funeral music. Brahms did not title his work after a chorale tune or a familiar scriptural or hymn-based text as Protestant composers often did; instead, he titled his work after the genre upon which he based his work. The compositions of Schütz, Bach, and other German composers provide more cultural context and textual source material than they offer examples of musical form and structure. For architectural foundations, Brahms had his eye on the Latin requiem.

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[178] Musgrave, *Brahms*, 3.

[179] Ibid.

[180] Musgrave, "Historical Influences," 5.

Brahms did not simply mimic the *Missa pro defunctis* in the German language, although requiems of this kind did exist, providing another link in the German musical lineage of Brahms's work. Requiems following the Catholic liturgy but sung in German were known by a variety of names, and grew over the centuries in the German empire.

> The German Requiem is a musical form that constitutes a small part of a vast liturgical repertory that had come to the forefront after the 1526 advent of Martin Luther's *Deutsche Messe* (German Mass). This requiem is identified by a variety of names, such as *Deutsches Requiem, Totenmesse,* and *Trauersmesse.* Past and current musical forms include *Deutsche Messe, Deutsches Amt, Deutsches Hochamt, Deutsches Requiem, Deutsche Passion, Deutsches Ordinarium, Deutsches Proprium, Deutsche Singmesse, Deutsches Magnificat, Deutsche Messgesange, Seelenmesse,* and German-language motets.[181]

In early examples of this type of requiem, composers either directly translated the Latin into German or selected texts that paralleled those of the Latin rite. Eventually, the choir "was permitted, even encouraged, to sing a German version of the liturgical text, hence creating what could be called a 'double' service. Schubert's *Deutsche Messe* stands as the most celebrated of these works."[182]

Interestingly, despite their sacred function within a Catholic service and a text that mirrored or at least paralleled the Latin text, Chase sets these German works apart from the requiem genre in his anthology due to the absence of or alteration to the Latin *Missa pro defunctis* text, in a chapter entitled "The German Requiem."[183] *Ein deutsches Requiem* was discussed in this same chapter, grouped with German translations of the

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[181] Chase, *Dies Irae*, 527.

[182] Ibid., 531.

[183] Ibid., 527-565.

Missa pro defunctis, and all separated from the development of the genre as a whole. For Chase, translation into the vernacular was enough to separate these works from the rest of the requiem genre.

By the nineteenth century, German-language requiems following the Catholic liturgy were common practice. In fact, many Catholic texts were translated into German as part of the Counter-Reformation as the Roman Catholic Church attempted to attract Germans back to the fold. Schubert wrote at least four such works: a *Deutsches Salve regina* (D.379), a *Deutsches Stabat mater* (D.383), a *Deutsche Trauermesse* (D.621) originally attributed to his brother,[184] and a *Deutsche Messe* (D.872). His requiem mass, *Deutsche Trauermesse,* included direct translations of the Latin as well as additional texts by an unknown author.[185] Each movement is very brief, and the titles followed the movements of the Catholic requiem: Zum Eingang (the Introit), Nach der Epistel (after the Epistle), Zum Evangelium (the Gospel), Zum Offertorium (the Offertory), Zum Sanctus (the Sanctus – *Heilig, Heilig, Heilig*), Zur wandlung (the Transubstantiation), Zum Memento für die Abgestorbenen (the Memorial for the Deceased), Zum Agnus Dei (the Agnus Dei – *Lamm Gottes*), Zur Kommunion (the Communion), and Am Ende der Messe (the end of the Mass).[186]

Schubert's *Deutsche Trauermesse* was clearly written for use within a liturgical Catholic funeral service. It provided musical responses and interludes to complement the

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[184] Barbara M. Reul and Lorraine Byrne Bodley, *The Unknown Schubert* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 60.

[185] Kovalenko, "The Twentieth-Century Requiem," 24.

[186] Franz Schubert, *Deutsche Messe; Deutsche Trauermesse* (Kassel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 2001).

order of worship. The musical lineage of Brahms's requiem includes these German requiems because they too are part of the cultural context for Brahms and for his audience. Schubert's work has been advertised as *Deutsches Requiem*[187] and referred to as *Deutsches Requiem,*[188] but it was not titled "requiem" by the composer. In the Schubert work, the title informed the listener that the funeral music to be presented would be sung in German. The texts followed the liturgical Latin outline, but the work was not given the liturgical Latin title. In order to appeal to German-speaking people, the title was given in the vernacular: "Trauermesse" instead of "Requiem." In contrast, Brahms's use of "requiem" points to the Latin liturgy, and "Ein deutsches" provides cultural context.

Brahms relied on cultural knowledge of both Protestant and Catholic funeral music, in German and in Latin, to help his listeners comprehend the depth of his work. When Brahms used "Ein deutsches" in the vernacular with "Requiem" in Latin, he set his work apart from all other requiems, German and Latin, and then provided references to both constituents of the German musical heritage. Just as the Protestant texts were commonly used in funeral music, the requiem outline was also commonly used in Germany in the early nineteenth century, both in German and in Latin. No single form had emerged to replace the requiem in the Protestant funeral service. In the Catholic service, the requiem form was adapted and transformed through language. Brahms went to the roots on both sides and created a work he intended as a universal work, with the

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[187] Schubert, *Deutsche Messe, Deutsche Trauermesse*, xxvii.

[188] F. Reinhard van Hoorickx, "Schubert's 'Pastoral Mass,'" *Music & Letters* 42, no. 1 (January 1961), Published by Oxford University Press. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/732571> (accessed January 22, 2010), 54.

knowledge that his listeners were equipped with both the cultural context to understand his cues and possessed the cultural tools necessary to perceive the topic he introduced.

Romantic Form

Nineteenth-century musical structures provide another context through which Brahms and his audience could form a common perspective. Brahms was able to speak to his listeners through musical structure because in the nineteenth century form became an element composers used to express individuality and communicate their message. Form was transformed from a platform upon which music was built into a signifying characteristic, a musical element that became valued as an expressive tool.

> For the artistic follower of the Romantic imperative, the creative goal is the radically individualized *unica*, not the mere imitation of a type or norm. The demand to transcend genre therefore goes hand in hand with an aesthetic that prizes the characteristic over the beautiful.[189]

The nineteenth-century audience was surrounded with music, literature, and art that transcended familiar genres and structures.

Friedrich Schelgel (1772-1829), a literary critic and philosopher, articulated an approach to genre in the Romantic age.

> Modern artists were compelled to follow what Schlegel called the 'romantic imperative,' the impulse that 'demanded the mixture of all poetic types.' Schlegel believed that Romantic genre brought together 'all the disparate tendencies and types that had previously been kept separate.'[190]

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[189] John Daverio, *Nineteenth-Century Music and the German Romantic Ideology* (New York: Schirmer Books, Macmillan: 1993), 144.

[190] Ibid., 127.

Form became less rigid and less predictable in the process of becoming an expressive compositional tool: another element available for composers to manipulate in their attempt to communicate with their listeners.

> More specifically, form, which in terms of the neoclassical aesthetics of the eighteenth century implies configurational wholeness, gave way to what Schlegel calls 'tendency' (*Tendenz*), to intentionally fragmented or incomplete structures. At the same time, the hierarchy of discrete genres came to be displaced by a system that valued individualized *Mischgedichte*—mixed genre words—aimed at transcending generic boundaries altogether.[191]

Transcending generic boundaries was a Romantic artistic imperative. Brahms and his audience shared a culture of mixed genres. "The notion of generic mixture" was an ideal that took "center stage in modern poetry by means of the *Roman* as real and ideal form,"[192] leading to the naming of the age by its own participants.[193]

Transcending genre, bringing together things kept separate, and manipulating Classical forms and structures were part of the age. When Brahms brought together the Catholic term "requiem" and a text based on Luther's Protestant Bible, he brought together things kept separate. When he wrote about an afterlife without mentioning Christ, he brought together things kept separate. When he united traditional musical structures with nineteenth-century musical language, he brought together separated things. From Schlegel's literary form came Brahms's expansion of genre: a requiem separated from its liturgical text. Brahms expected his listeners to perceive his mixed

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[191] Daverio, *Nineteenth-Century Music,* 5-6.

[192] Ibid., 128.

[193] Swafford, *Johannes Brahms,* 39.

form because he provided direct references to the traditional genre even as he introduced a new message and text. Brahms's listeners were surrounded by art forms in which disparate elements were brought together to create a new unified whole. He was the first to do so with the requiem genre, but his audience was familiar with the concept.

Brahms titled his work "requiem" as a suggestive tool, pointing to the genre he intended to transcend. Use of the title in such a way was also "one of the central concerns of Romanticism; devising a bridge between the world of words and the world of sound."[194] The use of suggestive words in the title became commonplace in the Romantic era; the many programmatic works of the era offer an abundance of images, settings, and contexts for their audiences. Listeners were pointed in a particular direction through the composer's title, but all understood the potential for vastly different interpretations of the relationship between title and music. "Both listener and performer accept the suggestiveness of the title. But the code is decidedly private. There are as many poets as composers, and each speaks a different language."[195]

Brahms tapped into this Romantic practice with his title and with the music and text that followed. He used "requiem" to lead his listeners into the experience of his music by a specific path. Brahms intended to transcend genre, he suggested the genre in the title and then left out its primary system of convention, the Latin text. He then encoded points of reference within his music for the listener to follow—but he left the final interpretation to the listener. Brahms, like other Romantic composers, built a verbal

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[194] Agawu, *Playing with Signs*, 140.

[195] Ibid.,140.

bridge into his sonic world. Brahms expected his listeners to try to unravel his code because crossing this bridge was part of the culture they shared.

For Brahms and his audience, the words in the title were a place of departure. They did not indicate a single literal meaning; the words in the title set a common starting perspective. Only when listeners heard the music through the established lens could they determine the meaning of the words in the title.

> When a movement is labeled 'Minuet,' we cannot assume a fixed generic identity; only an inspection of the actual music will reveal whether title and contents are congruent, whether the title simply formed a point of departure for the process of composing, or whether the title is an after-the-fact rationalization of a compositional process or product that entertained or entertains concerns other than the specific activity of minuet-writing.[196]

In 1868, such an inspection was commonplace. Brahms used the word "requiem" as a topic, even though it had always been used as a literal signifier of genre, because he and his audience lived in an age of mixed genres, coded titles, and artistic communication through form. The result was a musical audience that possessed a tendency to perceive works as independent entities, distinct from standard structures; "a view of musical works in particular as monads, 'containing' their own meaning rather than exemplifying a genre, articulating a style or confirming an institution."[197] Brahms was free to create a requiem of his own meaning and his audience was prepared to judge it on its own merits.

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[196] Agawu, *Playing with Signs,* 40.

[197] Jim Samson, "The musical work and nineteenth-century history," in *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Music,* edited by Jim Samson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 22.

Requiem as a Cultural Term

Although Brahms was the first to use the word "requiem" to signify a specific musical genre referenced in the course of his work, the word was used outside the realm of the Catholic funeral service elsewhere during the nineteenth century. *Requiem,* a poem by Friedrich Hebbel (1813-1863), was widely used by nineteenth-century composers.[198] The text implored the soul not to forget the dead, as if one was pleading with his own mind to keep the deceased person's memory alive (Appendix G: Hebbel Text). This text is completely unrelated to the Catholic funeral liturgy. Hebbel used the word in the title as a topic, but did not reference the funeral mass within the text.

Herman Melville wrote *Shiloh: A Requiem (April 1862)* in 1866, another poem that referred to "requiem" as a topic to set a context. Melville's poem mourned lost life at Shiloh during the Civil War. A church was mentioned, but no reference to a literal requiem service exists in this text. Emily Dickinson also titled a poem "requiem" and provided no reference to the Catholic mass. Dickinson's *Requiem* was published after her death (in 1886).[199] It is a short poem of reflection, without reference to a literal funeral service. Robert Louis Stevenson's *Requiem* is a two-stanza poem in which the speaker offers his own epitaph; this poem also does not reference the funeral mass. Full texts of these poems are included in Appendix H: Requiem Poetry.

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[198] Chase, *Memento Mori,* xvi.

[199] T. W. Higginson and Mabel Loomis Todd, eds., *Poems by Emily Dickinson: Second Series* (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1892), 3.

Other references to "requiem" in poetry and in music are references to a song of death, such as "Still wouldst thou sing, and I have ears in vain—to thy high requiem become a sod" from John Keats's *Ode to a Nightingale,* or "O'er PITT'S the mournful requiem sound, and Fox's shall the notes rebound" from Sir Walter Scott's *Patriotism 2: Nelson, Pitt, Fox*. These poets mentioned a requiem as a mourning song, with Scott's poem set outside over a grave rather than in a sanctuary. These instances, added to the state-sponsored concerts of commemoration for which composers such as Berlioz and Cherubini composed requiems, stretched the boundaries of the term and spread its usage and meaning beyond the walls of the Catholic liturgical service. The expansion was minimal; a feeling of sacredness surrounding the moment of death and a seriousness of purpose in the singing of the requiem remain. Still, these uses of the term placed the word out into the secular world, beyond the walls of the church, and generated a common understanding of the word's connotations.

The boundaries of the word were also stretched with Schumann's 1849 *Requiem für Mignon,* taken from a text by Goethe. Schumann's miniature oratorio is a work "for which there were no compositional precedents."[200] The scene in Goethe's book took place on the street, where children are mourning the loss of their friend Mignon. Goethe's scene reads like a play, with character names preceding the various lines. Schumann set the scene to music, publishing it as the second half of a set of songs based on texts taken from other parts of the same book[201] (Appendix I: *Requiem für Mignon* Text).

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[200] Bradford Robinson, "Robert Schumann. Requiem für Mignon," *Repertoire & Opera Explorer* (2005), <http://www.musikmph.de/musical_scores/vorworte/408.html> (accessed October 12, 2009).

[201] Ibid.

Requiem für Mignon premiered in Düsseldorf in 1850; Brahms conducted the Vienna premiere during the 1863-64 season of the Vienna *Singakademie*.[202] In this work, children are mourning their friend in the middle of the street. An Abbott is present, and the chorus provides guidance for the grieving children, but no hint of a traditional requiem exists within the work. Schumann used the word in its secular sense and audiences understood his reference. "Requiem" was understood as the song of mourning surrounding Mignon's death, even though none of the liturgy was present. This title also foreshadowed Brahms's title in that "Requiem" is Latin, and "für Mignon" is German. Schumann recognized "requiem" as a universally understood term, even when used in the context of another language.

Taken together, these instances provide context for the reception of *Ein deutsches Requiem* because they document the widespread perception of the word in literal form. Brahms was not the first to use the term outside of the Catholic liturgy; his listeners encountered the term in a broader sense, preparing them to perceive his work from a more open perspective. "Requiem" was not confined to a strict liturgical definition by the mid-nineteenth century in language nor in musical outline. Common knowledge of the broader sense of the term enabled Brahms to refer to the requiem as a topic, and set up a context with a single word. Like Schumann, Brahms could have stopped there, writing a song of mourning or consolation without any relation to the liturgical traditions. But

[202] Daniel Beller-McKenna, "Distance and Disembodiment: Harps, Horns, and the Requiem Idea in Schumann and Brahms," *The journal of musicology: A quarterly review of music history, criticism, analysis, and performance practice* 22 (1), Winter 2005, 65.

Brahms did point to the liturgical genre, especially through his musical structures, expanding the genre as others had expanded the term.

Brahms in Relation to Culture

Brahms's unique place within his culture provides additional context for the conception and expected reception of a requiem as a musical form with the potential to expand to include all of mankind. From the beginnings of his professional career Brahms was set apart, due to Robert Schumann's writings and Schumann's very public disputes with the so-called New German School clustered around Wagner and Liszt. Before Brahms was well-known, Schumann wrote an article introducing him as the next great German composer and placing him squarely in the middle of the German musical debate. Schumann's article introducing Brahms in "Neue Zeitschrift"

> … has more on its agenda than the apparent one of hailing a young genius. 'Neue Bahnen' was a calculated insult that probably raised editor Brendel's hackles, and was intended to. It would have a similar effect all over musical Europe. Near the beginning, Schumann cites his list of 'earnest artists of the present time.' All are friends and disciples of his own. Pointedly omitted from his 'union of kindred spirits' are Berlioz, Liszt, and Wagner—one-time friends now in the enemy camp. The article aims, in other words, to position Brahms alongside Schuman as a *Beethovener*, in opposition to Liszt's New German School and Wagner's Artwork of the Future.[203]

Schumann's insults hit their mark, and "Wagner and the New Germans began referring to Brahms sarcastically as 'heiligen Johannes,' 'Saint John',"[204] as if he were the chosen

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[203] Swafford, *Johannes Brahms,* 85.

[204] Ibid., 86.

disciple. The public debate pitching Wagner and Brahms as rivals continued throughout Brahms's career and beyond, due to the culture of musical criticism that pervaded the nineteenth century.

Beginning with Berlioz in the early part of the century, writings about music became influential and music critics gained a certain power with regard to the direction and shape of musical progress. Wagner's place in his culture was determined as much by his writings as by his compositions.

> Wagner's unique status among composers rests on his capacity to write about music while writing music (a practice that Brahms, among others, despised). Our assessments of his national commitments are thus grossly overinformed compared to those of other composers, even before we approach the issue of how people listened to him.[205]

Brahms's lack of interest in writing about music and in cultivating relationships with music writers placed him at a distinct disadvantage in the nineteenth-century propaganda machine, because he was not only up against Wagner but others who picked up Wagner's claims and heralded him as a national hero.

> Thus even in the case of Wagner, the composer and his works became mythologized as symbols of German nationalism primarily at the hands of critics, essayists, propagandists, and statesmen, far exceeding what the composer himself ever could have envisioned.[206]

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[205] Celia Applegate and Pamela Potter, "Germans as the 'People of Music': Genealogy of an Identity," in *Music and German National Identity*, edited by Celia Applegate and Pamela Potter (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2002), 11.

[206] Ibid.,12.

Wagner became part of the public lore in a way that Brahms did not; Wagner became the object of a kind of notoriety in which Brahms showed no interest.

Brahms focused on writing music rather than on cultivating writings about his music, allowing his music to speak for itself. Throughout his lifetime, Brahms witnessed the rise of Wagner and his circle in the public realm and the corresponding lack of fervor around his own works. Toward the end of his life, after professional disappointments, personal losses and the rise of Wagner's star, Brahms feared his music would vanish into obscurity upon his death. Instead, his music continued to be heard, but for generations with the same lack of understanding and insight into the composer and his position among the more outspoken Romantics.

> The triumph of his music, contrary to his fears, did not begin to slacken from the day of his death but persisted through the Modernist century. Yet during that period, as millions took up his music, Brahms remained an oddly isolated figure, appearing irrelevant not only to Modernism but to his own time—especially in comparison with his mentor Schumann and his rivals Liszt and Wagner. In contrast to those three, Brahms destroyed many of his personal records and never wrote a word of aesthetics or criticism or direct comment on his own or anyone else's music.[207]

Brahms may have been influenced by his close proximity to the documents Schumann left behind following his death, because it was Brahms and Joachim who with Clara sorted through all of Schumann's personal papers. Whatever the cause, Brahms chose to destroy personal writings and to remain out of the realm of public music criticism.

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[207] Swafford, *Johannes Brahms,* x.

The Brahms-Wagner comparison provides context for the reception of *Ein deutsches Requiem* because the main thrust of the criticism regarding Brahms's music was centered on his use of traditional forms and structures.

> Wagner himself had already set the tone for such comparisons between the two composers in 1862 by remarking of Brahms's *Handel Variations* (op. 24) that a good deal could still be done using the old forms, provided one knew how to use them. Wagner's left-handed compliment neatly summarized the polar view shared by many contemporaries: that Brahms maintained the traditional forms of the recent past while Wagner pursued the music of the future.[208]

Brahms's use of traditional forms is well documented. However, as in the Requiem, Brahms did not simply compose over static structures. Rather, he transformed traditional forms into modern structures. These adaptations enabled Brahms to communicate with a contemporary audience in their own language, not solely in the language of the past. "For in point of fact, the canonical forms resurface in Brahms's music as something essentially different from what they once were."[209] Brahms's re-working of the requiem form was not unique to this one work; it lies at the heart of Brahms's compositional style.

Agawu's 1999 article highlighted the same elements of Brahms's compositional style as found in his symphonies.

> What is inspiring about Brahms's symphonic output is not only how much of the past is consolidated therein, or how much of the present is domesticated by him, but how—and this is only possible with the benefit of hindsight—significant subsequent practices may be traced to him.[210]

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[208] Beller-McKenna, *Brahms and the German Spirit,* 5.

[209] Daverio, *Nineteenth-Century Music,* 143.

[210] Kofi Agawu, "Formal Perspectives on the Symphonies," in *The Cambridge Companion to Brahms,* edited by Michael Musgrave (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 155.

The same applies to *Ein deutsches Requiem.* Brahms captured the past through mastery of the traditional systems of convention related to the requiem genre. At the same time, so much of this work relied on Romantic compositional techniques and the Romantic notion of generic mixture. "The creative tension between architectural and logical form, two fundamentally opposed compositional impulses, lies at the heart of Brahms's style."[211] In the next chapter, this study documents subsequent requiem practices traceable to Brahms.

Brahms was keenly aware of his place in history as the master of canonical forms. "Brahms rightly considered himself to be the last in a line of composers, as the final distinguished product of pedagogical traditions he had had to reconstruct for his own purposes."[212] Brahms believed in his approach, and adapted the musical structures he inherited with philosophical purpose. His approach to the requiem genre was rooted in his compositional beliefs and processes, an approach that honored traditional forms and, at the same time, altered them to speak to a modern audience. In Brahms's hands, the traditional and the modern were united.

> For Brahms, musical forms such as the sonata, symphony, song, *Clavierstück,* and motet were primarily processes and principles rather than architectonic structures, and he used his historical experience not to conserve traditions but to reinterpret and change established practices–at times radically. His historical knowledge provided him with a frame of reference and with concrete material with which to

[211] Agawu, "Formal Perspectives," 135.

[212] Margaret Notley, *Lateness and Brahms: Music and Culture in the Twilight of Viennese Liberalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 10.

> bring about change. And this change takes place on many compositional levels, both large- and small-scale.[213]

Brahms studied the traditional forms in order to master them for the present. Only Brahms succeeded in creating new music based on traditional forms without surrendering modern compositional approaches. "In Brahms's music there is no conflict between old and new, between experimental and traditional; instead, a peaceful dialogue leads to a harmonious solution."[214] This statement could be applied directly to *Ein deutsches Requiem*: the old and the new, experimental and traditional existing in a peaceful dialogue with a harmonious solution.

Brahms's interest in traditional music forms was fostered by the Schumanns[215] early in his career, during a period that paralleled increased interest in the music of past master composers by all musicians.

> Brahms's career as a composer, while it came after the initial rediscovery of Bach and Palestrina, coincided with the further spread of interest in their music and the widening of that interest to include the study, publication, and performance of works by other Renaissance and Baroque composers. During the second half of the nineteenth century, this tendency, in combination with nationalistic fervor and enthusiasm for folk music in Brahms and a number of his fellow German musicians, resulted in a particular interest in specifically German early music like

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[213] Christopher Wolff, "Brahms, Wagner, and the Problem of Historicism in Nineteenth-century Music," in *Brahms Studies: Analytical and Historical Perspectives,* edited by George S. Bozarth. Papers delivered at the International Brahms Conference, Washington DC, 5-8 May 1983 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 11.

[214] Karl Geiringer, "Brahms the Ambivalent," in *Brahms Studies: Analytical and Historical Perspectives,* edited by George S. Bozarth. Papers delivered at the International Brahms Conference, Washington DC, 5-8 May 1983 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 4.

[215] Hancock, *Brahms's Choral Compositions,* 1.

> the polyphonic Lieder of the Renaissance and the compositions of Heinrich Schütz.[216]

Brahms pursued these interests with unrivaled passion, copying out "works by Palestrina, Corsi, Durante, and Lotti" by 1853.[217] With the Schumanns's encouragement, he created his own schedule of study from the music in the Schumann library and then engaged in a "cooperative program of contrapuntal study" with his friend Joachim.[218] While Wagner and other Romantic composers pursued and elevated new harmonies and new forms, Brahms stood alone in his pursuit of knowledge and mastery of early music forms.

> Though no composer of his time was untouched by the music of the past, Brahms soon gained a purely technical knowledge of both music and sources that rivaled that of the newly emerging class of musicologists. Indeed, he was effectively one of them, spending as much time in their company as he did with performing musicians or literary figures.[219]

Brahms was able to successfully adapt traditional structures because he intentionally made them foundational in his compositional arsenal.

Brahms's technical mastery of historical forms was looked down upon by the so-called progressive composers and music critics, and he was left outside of their circle as he pursued his interests. But he was not completely removed from the culture of the day.

> Among the premises of historicism, the historical consciousness that spread early in the nineteenth century figures most prominently. Musical life and thought no

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[216] Hancock, *Brahms's Choral Compositions,* 7.

[217] Ibid., 1.

[218] Ibid., 2.

[219] Musgrave, *Brahms,* 151.

> longer restricted 'music of the past' to that of the immediately preceding generation. The works of Bach, for instance, like those of Shakespeare or Michelangelo, became the corner-stone of an ever-expanding and deepening background, against which the accomplishments of the recent past and present—in terms of simultaneous cultivation of contemporary and historical repertories—could be recognized as a matter of course.[220]

Brahms was singular in his ability to adapt traditional musical forms but the forms themselves were not absent from nineteenth-century culture. Historical consciousness was present in the concert halls, the academies, and in public discourse. Brahms's listeners were familiar with the music of Schütz, Bach, and Handel; they revered the mastery of Mozart and Beethoven. Brahms could expect his listeners to hear his references to past requiems because past requiems were being performed in their midst, recognized as masterworks worthy of the concert hall.

Brahms became part of the musical culture in his own way, by studying the musical masters of his past. In doing so, he became the next in a long line for those who wanted to build upon traditional compositional devices as they strove for modern music. "Brahms represented, until his death in 1897, the most powerful and most respectable living model for younger German composers."[221] Far from being isolated because of his study and use of historical forms, Brahms became a part of his culture through a different avenue, one he walked again in the process of transforming the requiem.

In hindsight, Brahms's social beliefs provide clues as to his innate progressivism, a quality not recognized by Wagner and the critics and writers who surrounded him.

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[220] Wolff, "Brahms, Wagner, and the Problem of Historicism," 7.

[221] Walter Frisch, "The 'Brahms Fog': On Analyzing Brahmsian Influences at the Fin de Siècle," in *Brahms and His World*, edited by Walter Frisch (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 82.

> Brahms came to represent the aesthetics of a foreign, ironically 'modern' antitraditionalism associated with modern commerce, science, university life, and parliamentary politics. Although the cliché has been to link Brahms with the conservative, and Wagner (and his admirers, Wolf and Bruckner) with the 'music of the future,' the social mirror of this aesthetic division presents the reverse. Brahms's aesthetic of classical continuity was linked with the belief in scientific progress, social emancipation, the modern nation state, and the transformation of traditional ways of life.[222]

Classical continuity and the transformation of the traditional are both relevant with regard to *Ein deutsches Requiem.* The transformation of the form in Brahms's hands was based on references to the classic requiem structure. It also allowed the requiem to move forward in new ways, preserving a sacred form by expanding it into a more universal iteration that continued to grow beyond the boundaries of the original Latin text.

Another relevant aspect of Brahms's personal history is his continued composition for the choir in an age dominated by instrumental music. Brahms studied and mastered vocal forms in the course of his self-prescribed educational course, and was able to write for voices in a manner equal to that of great symphonic music. Brahms incorporated lessons about vocal music into his compositions, and he worked with choirs throughout his career gaining first-hand knowledge of the capabilities and expressive power of a group of singers.

> In his own compositions, the mere fact that Brahms wrote such a large amount of choral music, particularly a cappella works, is in itself remarkable. No other composer of the nineteenth century wrote so much of such high quality and of such different kinds. In this respect he is like the early composers for whom writing for groups of singers was simply routine, and who treated voices on an

[222] Leon Botstein, "Brahms and Nineteenth-Century Painting," *19th-Century Music* 14, no. 2 (Autumn, 1990), <http://www.jstor.org/stable/746200> (accessed April 9, 2009), 158.

> equal and often interchangeable basis with instruments. Brahms did not, like Bach, write for voices as though they *were* instrument; but he did treat them instrumentally in that he learned to write especially for their strengths, using their capabilities to the full without exceeding their limitations. He also wrote for choral singers as thought they were as intelligent and competent within their medium as instrumentalists—an unusual assumption for a nineteenth-century composer.[223]

In this way, Brahms was able to approach the requiem genre with a seriousness equaling the masses and requiems written by composers who were immersed in sacred vocal music. His work was taken seriously because the quality of vocal writing was of the highest level. His fugues were not merely nods to an earlier form; they embodied all of the complexities of past fugues. Brahms's mastery of vocal writing allowed his work to be heard as a masterwork, with a seriousness of purpose and high quality of compositional technique appropriate for a sacred funeral service or a concert hall.

Finally in the context of personal history, Brahms's own theology must be considered even though cultural Protestantism existed beyond the bounds of personal religious choices. Brahms's personal religious sentiments were somewhat less influential with regard to the semiotics of *Ein deutsches Requiem* because his stated purpose was to write a universal work, one to reach beyond denominational and personal boundaries. Had Brahms been a strongly religious man, he would perhaps have composed a requiem for a specific church, for use within the liturgy of a single denomination; in this case the context surrounding the work would have been more dependent on his personal religious beliefs. This is not to say that Brahms lacked personal spirituality. Intellectual curiosity,

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[223] Hancock, *Brahms's Choral Compositions,* 147-148.

historical interests, and the study of music past and present played more significant roles in the context surrounding his requiem and are therefore more relevant to a semiotic study, but his personal beliefs still merit a brief note.

Brahms was raised in northern Germany, by a mother whose lineage included many Lutheran pastors.[224] Both familial and local religious traditions were based upon Luther's Bible, and Brahms received training in the Protestant traditions.

> On the one hand, Brahms was raised in a traditional North German Lutheran household, and his continued interest in religious texts (Luther's Bible in particular) suggests that he privately maintained throughout his life some measure of the Christian outlook. Even if we take into account a variety of pessimistic and secularizing comments from his later years, there is nothing to suggest that Brahms ever betrayed that formative religious training.[225]

Luther's Bible remained one of Brahms's favorite books. "According to Karl Geiringer, Brahms 'boasted that he could always instantly lay his hand on those books he valued—for example, the bible—even in the dark.'"[226] His personal familiarity with the Bible enabled him to select his own texts for the Requiem, texts that suited his musical needs rather than a more specific evangelical or theological purpose.

Brahms's religious curiosity was not limited to the Bible; Swafford remarked that Brahms also made notes in "his copy of the Koran."[227] This seemingly insignificant statement is important in light of a semiotic analysis because it provides evidence that

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[224] Beller-McKenna, *Brahms and the German Spirit,* 33.

[225] Ibid., 31.

[226] Minear, *Death Set to Music,* 65.

[227] Swafford, *Johannes Brahms,* 121.

Brahms, at the minimum, had the tools necessary to choose sacred texts with relevance to a wider swath of humanity. His understanding of the messages within the Koran coupled with his knowledge of the Lutheran Bible enabled him to select sacred texts with a universal impact.

Brahms was part of the enlightened public discourse on religion that took place in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. For *Ein deutsches Requiem,* Brahms's ability to craft a universal message regarding the disposition of the soul and the impact of death on the living is more pertinent than a singular denominational belief system. Brahms's personal religious views may be "hard to pin down"[228] precisely because he was pursuing a message with the ability to cross denominational lines and reach a broader audience. Brahms's personal religious beliefs may or may not be reflected in the texts of *Ein deutsches Requiem;* his personal beliefs become somewhat irrelevant because the universality of his message and his broader compositional intent transcend the personal and aim for the universal.

Cultural context provides information about how a sign communicates, how it is able to *mean* beyond its literal definition. John Poinsot (1589-1644) in *Treatise on Signs* (1632) "defined the sign as an intermediary between thoughts and things. Poinsot suggested that signs function psychologically as 'intermediary forms' that allow the human mind to make a direct link to the 'realities' of life."[229] Brahms studied the reality of the requiem and was aware that his listeners had encountered "requiem" in their own

[228] Beller-McKenna, *Brahms and the German Spirit,* 75-76.

[229] Danesi, *The Quest for Meaning,* 9.

lives, both as an historical sacred music form and as a term with a commonly understood connotation. Brahms used the word for its meaning in the fullest of terms, or its *sense*. According to Danesi, "sense is what that something elicits psychologically, historically, and socially,"[230] its meaning culturally. Brahms introduced "requiem" precisely for the sense of the word, so that he could establish a context with psychological, historical, and social meanings. Culturally, his audience was prepared to hear Brahms's references and to perceive his expanded sense of the word and the genre as a form with the potential to include all of mankind.

[230] Danesi, *The Quest for Meaning*, 12.

CHAPTER VI

DOCUMENTING THE WHY: EVIDENCE OF A SYMBOL

An attempt to document the signification of certain words or symbols grows out of the "what" and the "how" of the first documented case and out of evidence of continued use of the symbol beyond the moment of signification. The semiotic study undertaken thus far has provided concrete examples of semiotic consciousness, identified cues within the music and the text, and related cultural context surrounding the moment of signification. Documenting the "why" explores how Brahms's intentions translated into successful musical references and how his audience perceived his signification.

Evidence has been presented to support the claim that Brahms both intended to compose a requiem and referred to the requiem genre in his music and text. Evidence has been presented to support the claim that Brahms's audience was poised to receive the topic he provided and to successfully interpret his message. The next step is to examine the rationality of the conclusion that "requiem" did in fact expand beyond its literal meaning and that it became a signifier.

This conclusion was reached through a study of communication through encoded meaning, and through the process of documenting examples of later works that affirm the expanded meaning of the symbol. Documenting the "why" in this case included an examination of immediate reactions to *Ein deutsches Requiem,* and documentation of

requiems composed after 1868 that capitalized on the expanded, symbolic meaning of the word. This is especially relevant with regard to those works that rely on a symbolic relationship between the music and the title or genre.

Reception of the Work

Brahms was not yet internationally recognized as a master composer when he composed *Ein deutsches Requiem*. The goal of publication drove his performance process, which included several opportunities for feedback before the actual premiere of the completed work.

> From the start of his career Brahms composed for eventual publication. With this end in view, he put his works through rigorous paces, normally progressing through three distinct stages. He first solicited the reactions of his trusted musical confidants. Then, he sought opportunities for test performances. Finally, when he was satisfied with the results of these semi-private (or even public) trial performances, he released the revised performing materials to his publishers.[231]

From the earliest compositional stages, Brahms sought feedback from Clara Schumann and later from his friend Joachim. Additionally, in 1867 Brahms allowed the first three movements to be presented in Vienna as a test performance. "The first trial performance of movements 1-3 took place on 1 December 1867, at the second of that season's concerts of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde."[232] Unfortunately, Brahms did not lead the rehearsals or conduct the performance, so the reaction to this partial premiere was not as favorable as Brahms might have hoped.

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[231] McCorkle, "The Role of Trial Performances," 296.

[232] Ibid., 306.

> Kalbeck reports that when rumours of a new Brahms composition reached Vienna, the conductor Johann Herbeck offered to programme part of the work as a novelty – the entire work would have been too much to impose on a subscription-concert audience. During the month of November, Brahms and Joachim had been on tour together, so the composer was not on hand to assist with rehearsals. As a result, the performance was poorly prepared and, under Herbeck's baton, came off badly.[233]

Still, the test performance provided Brahms with important feedback, since the dissatisfaction appeared to be related more to performance issues than to compositional ones.[234] Despite some negative reactions to the performance, evidence suggests that the work was, on the whole, well received. "Legend says that the excerpts were hissed at the end. So they were, vigorously, by a few people. But in fact approval overwhelmed the complaints, and in the several minutes it took Brahms to make his way onstage for a bow, the applause stayed strong."[235]

Comments made by ardent Brahms supporter Eduard Hanslick provide insight into the work as one that expanded boundaries: "first, that the work was not ideally suited to a concert room and second, that its character imposed limitations on ready acceptance,"[236] particularly in Vienna. Hanslick recognized the sacred nature of the text and the seriousness of the composition as being better suited to a sanctuary, pointing out that the work belonged more to the sacred realm than the secular. Since Vienna was in the heart of Catholic Germany, a new kind of requiem was not as likely to be welcomed

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[233] McCorkle, "The Role of Trial Performances," 306-307.

[234] Swafford, *Johannes Brahms*, 315.

[235] Ibid.

[236] Musgrave, *Brahms*, 60.

there as it might have been in other parts of the nation. Hanslick did not take specific issue with the title or the associated genre; he perceived the work as a masterwork in the making, one he thought more appropriate within a sacred space. Of course, Hanslick and the Vienna audience had only three movements upon which to comment; the extent of Brahms's message and the completed architectural structure were not yet fully evident.

After the test performance in Vienna, Brahms turned his attention to completing the work, then only six movements, and in securing a time and location for the premiere. He sent a score to his former teacher, Eduard Marxsen,[237] and to various friends and performers[238] for advice. Brahms let it be known that he was at work composing a major choral work; this publicity and openness helped to secure a favorable date, place, and leadership arrangement for his premiere.

> Albert Dietrich had sent a copy of the score to the organist and musical director of the cathedral in Bremen, Karl Martin Reinthaler. He was so impressed that plans were soon being laid for a complete performance in Bremen Cathedral to take place on Good Friday (10 April) 1868, to be prepared by Reinthaler and conducted by Brahms.[239]

In addition to laying the groundwork for a favorable premiere, Brahms's approach to performance also generated public interest in the premiere. "The Bremen premiere of the *Requiem* aroused enormous interest, and many distinguished musicians came from all

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[237] Swafford, *Johannes Brahms,* 316.

[238] Ibid., 311.

[239] MacDonald, *Brahms,* 134.

over Germany and abroad to hear it."[240] During all of Brahms's advanced preparations, the title and genre of the work went along with the score and the various communications as he sought advice. There are no documented concerns in the literature from those who saw the early manuscripts regarding Brahms's intention to call his work a requiem, nor regarding its relationship to the genre.

Schumann extolled Brahms's talents upon first meeting him, but Schumann's predictions were not considered fulfilled until after the 1868 Bremen premiere of *Ein deutsches Requiem.* "Critical acclamation was almost universal, and it was generally acknowledged that the *Requiem,* his first really large work for chorus and orchestra, had finally fulfilled Schumann's prophecies of Brahms's greatness."[241] The publicity and reactions generated by the advanced readings, rehearsals, and the Vienna test performance were evidently positive, because a crowd turned out to witness the premiere.

> When the day arrived, never had the cathedral been so full; never had the enthusiasm been so great. The effect was simply overwhelming; and it at once became clear to the audience that the German Requiem ranked amongst the loftiest music ever given to the world.[242]

Ein deutsches Requiem was received as a masterwork, well composed and performed, without evidence in the literature regarding a specific objection to the title.

Before the Bremen performance, Reinthaler expressed concern about the lack of a reference to Christ. In addition, he noted the lack of a solo in the multi-movement work:

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[240] MacDonald, *Brahms,* 135.

[241] Ibid., 136.

[242] Evans, *Handbook to the Vocal Works of Brahms,* 167.

> [Reinthaler's] one reservation was that 'it lasts a long time for a choral work without solos'. He recommended that a solo be added to serve as a climax, with a pointed reference to the Christian resurrection and its meaning for man's redemption. For the Good Friday performance, Reinthaler provided his own solution by inviting Amalie Joachim to sing Handel's aria 'I know that my Redeemer liveth' from the *Messiah*, after the fourth movement. A month later Brahms composed a fifth movement of his own, 'Ihr habt nun Traurigkeit', a soprano solo on the theme not of redemption, but rather of consolation.[243]

The addition of the fifth movement completed *Ein deutsches Requiem*. The extended solo added to the mirrored structure and reinforced the overall message of consolation. The addition was also recommended by Brahms's teacher[244] and, as previously mentioned, may have been in process during the Bremen premiere.[245] Once *Ihr habt nun Trauerigkeit* was added, the completed work enjoyed several more performances around the world, firmly establishing Brahms as a leading composer of the era.

> Brahms meanwhile had returned to Hamburg to prepare it for publication, and in so doing enlarged it yet further by adding, at Marxen's suggestion, a seventh movement (placed fifth in the overall scheme) for solo soprano. This final form of the *Requiem* was heard in Leipzig under Reinecke in February 1869, and by the end of that year had been given in over twenty German and Swiss cities; premieres followed in 1871 in London (a private performance without orchestra) and Vienna, Utrecht and St. Petersburg in 1872, London (with orchestra) in 1873, and Paris in 1875. No work did more to win Brahms international recognition in a short time; and from now on, he was regarded by all but the most partisan supporters of the 'New German' school as one of the leading composers of the age.[246]

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[243] McCorkle, "The Role of Trial Performances," 307.

[244] Swafford, *Johannes Brahms,* 316.

[245] Musgrave, *Brahms,* 9.

[246] MacDonald, *Brahms,* 136.

Brahms succeeded in crafting his masterwork, in securing favorable publicity and a favorable performance venue for his premiere, and in repeating his successful performance across the continent. During this time, whether reactions to the work itself or to the composer as a "leading composer" were positive or negative, there does not seem to be argument over the genre.

Although there was not an outcry against the title or genre, the text did provoke comments about a Protestant influence. In hindsight, as discussed, this was not a strictly Protestant text. The texts come from Luther's Protestant Bible and reflect some values ascribed to the Protestant tradition, such as hope in the promise of eternal life and God's comfort in times of trouble. But the text does not mention Christ, who is central to Protestantism, and was not intended to function specifically within any of the Protestant denominations. The text was certainly not Catholic, and so was deemed Protestant more to set it apart from the liturgical Latin than as an accurate reflection of its purpose.

Surgeon Theodor Billroth also made a remark regarding the Protestant nature of the text and its impact on the reception of the work in Vienna.

> [Billroth] diagnosed cultural difference as the root of the failure of the first three movements to please the Viennese: 'I like Brahms better every time I meet him,' he wrote to a friend; ' his Requiem is so nobly spiritual and so Protestant-Bachish that it was difficult to make it go down here.'[247]

Despite the cultural differences he perceived and the Bach-like compilation of German texts, Billroth had no trouble identifying Brahms's work as a requiem, nor as a sacred—rather than secular—work.

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[247] MacDonald, *Brahms*, 134.

One back-handed confirmation of the reception of the work as a requiem came from those on the Wagner side of the Brahms-Wagner divide, who "now saw the 'Requiem' as an embodiment of the Protestant-bourgeois religious ethic in music by which they felt so threatened."[248] These complaints infer that Brahms succeeded in creating a non-Catholic version of the genre, one that threatened them. Even so they did not dismiss Brahms's masterwork from the requiem genre, they only complained about the ethic behind the text.

According to Beller-McKenna, it is difficult to separate early reviews from the Wagner-Brahms debate of the late nineteenth-century. Beller-McKenna based his view on a selection "of the most extensive and substantial early critiques and reviews."[249] One review he considered relatively neutral was written by Maczewski, who "delves into a deeper level of discourse than other early critics and calls forth many overarching philosophical, historical, and theological concepts."[250] In essence, Maczewski found *Ein deutsches Requiem* notable in part because Brahms was able to express the universal through a specific musical construct.

> For Maczewski then, the universal religious feeling represented in the Requiem is grounded in Brahms's ability to express musical universality through the musical particular [or the "musically characteristic"]. Whereas other critics identify the modernity of op. 45 with its sense of freedom, Maczewski defines modernity in the Requiem as its capacity to express the universal through the particular.[251]

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[248] Musgrave, *Brahms*, 67.

[249] Beller-McKenna, "How 'deutsch' a Requiem?," 9.

[250] Ibid., 11.

[251] Ibid., 12.

In other words Brahms succeeded, according to Maczewski's critique, in expressing a universal message through the particular musical and textual constructs of *Ein deutsches Requiem.* Maczewski also identified the "modernity" of *Ein deutsches Requiem* as a common point of criticism, not the classification of the work as a requiem. The previously denominational genre was expanded through musical universality, a sense heightened by the universality of Brahms's text choices and message of hope and comfort for all living people.

Even within the reviews written by Brahms's ardent admirers exists an implied acceptance or irrelevance with regard to the claim on the requiem genre. Hanslick wrote, "Since the masses for the dead and mourning cantatas of our classical composers the shadow of death and the seriousness of loss have scarcely been presented in music with such power."[252] Inherent in this remark is an observation of the dual Catholic and Protestant lineage of Brahms's work, and the absence of a question regarding its existence *as* a requiem. Hanslick was not concerned with musicological genre classification, but as a music critic neither did he question the title in relation to the genre. The word was accepted in its commonly understood form, and Brahms's work was accepted, perhaps only subconsciously, as belonging to the genre of masses for the dead and mourning cantatas.

Conversely, issues surrounding the genre classification of Verdi's 1874 work "have dominated the reception of the *Requiem* from the very beginning,"[253] despite

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[252] Musgrave, "Historical Influences," 61.

[253] David Rosen, *Verdi, Requiem* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 89.

Verdi's adherence to the *Missa pro defunctis* text. "Numerous writers have called attention to the 'operatic,' 'dramatic,' and 'theatrical' qualities of the music."[254] Verdi incorporated his operatic compositional skills into his requiem, but the compositional distance between opera and the traditional requiem mass was wide enough to warrant reactions from his audience. Verdi's *Requiem* was intended for the concert hall and included some text repetition and alteration, but these elements in themselves were present in other works considered part of the requiem genre. Verdi's operatic devices, drama and pacing prompted questions about genre classification; the music itself did not seem to belong in the genre despite the presence of the Latin text.

The lack of an outcry over genre in the wake of *Ein deutsches Requiem* can therefore be considered indicative that Brahms's music was accepted on some level as being appropriate for the genre. Brahms's symphonic background was not far removed from the symphonic nature of the concert requiems of Classical era composers, so the symphonic aspects of his work did not provoke the same reaction as did the operatic aspects of Verdi's work. Brahms's compositional structure and musical references pointed to the traditions of the requiem genre and served to avert questions about genre classification despite the complete absence of the Latin text. In comparison with the reaction to and arguments against Verdi's work as a requiem, *Ein deutsches Requiem* was accepted and established as a masterwork in keeping with the traditions of the sacred work of mourning and death.

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[254] Roberta Montemorra Marvin, "Verdi's non-operatic works," in *The Cambridge Companion to Verdi*, edited by Scott L. Balthazar (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 179.

Late-Romantic Requiems: Following Ein deutsches Requiem

Immediately following *Ein deutsches Requiem,* composers continued forward with the requiem genre's Latin text until the turn of the century. Expansion of the genre continued as it had for generations: composers took liberties with text order and movement structures, concert requiems reflected the musical advances of the day, and some looked back toward the original liturgical use (Appendix J: Romantic Era Requiems). Brahms's work was recognized as a masterwork, but in the nineteenth century that kind of recognition took time to generate and maintain. The work did not premiere in Paris until 1875, seven years after its Bremen premiere. Familiarity with the work grew slowly, simply because the dissemination of new works took time. Meanwhile, critics continued to shine a brighter light on Wagner and his musical vocabulary than on Brahms and his reworking of old forms. Brahms's compositional work was left to influence on its own merits and in its own time.

Concert requiems grew larger in the late nineteenth century, after the tradition of Berlioz. In addition to Verdi's own requiem, he led in the formation of a collaborative requiem in honor of Rossini. Various Italian composers were enlisted to write movements for the work, under the "musical guidelines set down by Verdi."[255] The magnitude of the work and the presence of the various composers both point to the inception of the work as concert music. Bottesini created his own operatic requiem in 1880, composed in a style

[255] Chase, *Dies Irae*, 302.

"typical of Italian grand opera."[256] Dvořak's 1890 *Requiem Mass* was written for the Birmingham Festival of England, and is musically more similar to a "grand oratorio"[257] than to a liturgical requiem mass. The growth of the genre in this direction was a continuation of the early symphonic requiems of the Classical era, works unrelated to liturgical use within a sacred service.

Sacred music composers focused more intently on liturgically appropriate music, partly in response to the grandeur and length of concert masses and requiems. The Catholic Church extolled the compositions of composers related to the Caecilian movement,[258] exemplified in the requiems of Liszt, Gounod, and in the fragments of Gregorian chant used by Sgambati. Traditional aspects of the genre continued, such as polyphonic writing, fugues, and concertato style textural effects. Fauré's Requiem is another worship-appropriate work; Fauré followed the traditional French outline, omitting the Dies irae and including a Pie Jesu and an In Paradisum. Many composers continued to follow the liturgical text, staying within the bounds of the genre's traditions (Appendix J: Romantic Era Requiems).

Composers also continued to incorporate Romantic trends into the genre. Wagner's *leitmotiv* was incorporated by Saint-Saëns, Dvorak, and Stanford, each of whom used a recurring motive to unify their requiems. Draeseke's work exemplified a

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[256] Chase, *Dies Irae,* 249.

[257] Ibid., 260.

[258] Donald Jay Grout, *A History of Western Music,* 3rd ed. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1980), 567.

harmonic style typical of the late Romantic era,[259] an indicator that the music of the requiem genre continued to evolve with the musical trends of the era. Composers put their personal imprints on requiems just as they did in other musical forms: Saint-Saëns quiet and lyrical work is in direct contrast with Bottesini's operatic work; Fauré's Requiem does not include a dedication and reflects his quiet but sure faith, while the beauty of Gounod's Requiem is heightened by its dedication to his grandson. Nationalism is evident in Rheinberger's dedication "to those who perished in the German War of 1870-1871"[260] and in Verdi's efforts to commemorate both Rossini and Manzoni.

The widening of the requiem genre during the Romantic era grew beyond the sanctuary-concert hall divide, and incorporated many of the compositional techniques of the age. In an era marked by distinctly personal music, the struggle for national identity, the continued development of harmony and the widespread use of personalized, adapted forms, the musical dust was sufficiently stirred up. It took time for the dust to settle, for trends to become apparent, and for Brahms's impact on the form to reverberate outward from its initial impact on the genre. The use of "requiem" to provide a topic, to set a context, or to refer to a commonly understood form resurfaced in the twentieth century, in addition to the continued bringing together of things kept separate. Brahms's use of the word "requiem" as a signifier can be more easily viewed from an historical perspective, as the root of the tree from which these requiems branch.

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[259] Chase, *Dies Irae*, 257.

[260] Ibid., 285.

The Twentieth Century through 1950: Signs of Expansion

The diversity of requiems in the late nineteenth-century exploded in the twentieth century as world wars changed the face of society. Tonal music gave way to increasingly dissonant and then completely atonal harmonic structures (Appendix K: Pre-1950 Requiems). Composers sought new ways to express themselves, to find relevance in the face of these massive changes. Increasing diversity in the requiem genre has been explained in terms of sacred versus secular, liturgical versus non-liturgical:

> Throughout the twentieth century, the gap between liturgical and nonliturgical requiems had grown noticeably wider, culminating in a vast diversity of requiem settings and text. The beginning of this trend can be traced back to the romantic era with the debut of Goethe's *Requiem für Mignon.* Musical settings of this text were created by Robert Schumann (c.1849), Anton Rubenstein (1872), Hans Gál (1923), and Theodore Streicher (1913). The Friedrich Hebbel poem, *Seele, vergiss sie nicht,* was employed by Max Reger (1915) and Peter Cornelius (1872).[261]

Ein deutsches Requiem is not liturgical, but neither is it secular; nor does it fit neatly as a *Deutsche Trauermesse*. Instead, *Ein deutsches Requiem* expanded the genre in a third direction, categorized best by its use of "requiem" as a designator to signify the traditional genre, to refer to the requiem as a topic, and to add another dimension of meaning—in this case, through a German text and a universal message of comfort.

Requiem für Mignon made no claims upon the requiem genre; it was a dramatic text lifted and set as a short dramatic work, without reference to the musical constructs of the requiem mass. This work provides evidence that an understanding of the literal term

[261] Chase, *Dies Irae,* 310.

was widespread, but Schumann's work is not related musically or textually to the requiem genre. The Hebbel poem came closer in meaning to the Latin text, in that the speaker cries out to his own soul (rather than to God) to remember the dead. The title of the poem is *Requiem;* the first line of the text is *Seele, vergiss Sie nicht* (Soul, forget them not), as noted in Appendix G: Hebbel Text. This poem does bring together things kept separate: the sacred connotation of the title against the crying out to one's own soul, rather than to God. The use of "requiem" in the title shifted toward the symbolic due to the absence of God in the text. However, the musical settings of this text do not come close to a multi-movement requiem mass. In addition, both settings post-date *Ein deutsches Requiem;* turning to the symbolic first occurred with Brahms.

Thus, when Chase stated that "contemporary settings can be divided into three major groups: the liturgical requiem, the secular requiem, and the war requiem,"[262] he omitted all sacred requiems not aligned with the Latin text. The German Requiem, the Anglican Requiem, the Byzantine-Greek Requiem, the Russian Orthodox Panikhida, the Serbian Orthodox Requiem, and the Armenian Orthodox Requiem were all discussed in later chapters, separated from the development of the genre as a whole. Yet Delius's *Pagan Requiem,* Kastalsky's *Fraternal Commemoration,* and Foulds's *World Requiem* were included in the section detailing twentieth-century requiems. This separation from the genre goes beyond a means of organizing an anthology; the description of the works included—sacred, secular, and war—sets classification boundaries that exclude the symbolic realm opened by Brahms.

[262] Chase, *Dies Irae,* 307.

When the semiotic approach is applied to the requiem genre beyond the first appearance of the symbolic requiem with Brahms, the entire genre can be seen in a new light. Through the use of "requiem" to set the context for an additional message, the diversity of twentieth-century requiems comes together as one genre that expands in new directions as music itself expands in new directions. In the first half of the twentieth-century, the genre included requiems that brought together things kept separate, requiems that celebrated the funeral traditions of other faiths, requiems that allowed a message of peace to be layered on top, and the first requiems without words—instrumental works that relied on the topic of requiem, and the names of its movements, to provide the context for a mourning work devoid of text.

In the context of bringing together things kept separate, Delius's 1914 Requiem can be undertood as a universal commemoration, rather than an anti-Christian or Pagan work. Though Delius himself referred to it as "pagan,"[263] his is not a text without hope or even lacking Christian themes. This text includes a Darwinian view of mortality, the *La, il Allah* of Islam, the *Hallelujah* of Christianity, and the portrayal of nature reclaiming man as part of creation.[264] In the face of the atrocities of First World War, Delius reflected the overwhelming grief that transcended all intellect and all religions, and reflected the search for hope in the midst of such tremendous anger, hatred, and death.

Kastalsky followed Brahms's outline in his 1916 *Fraternal Commemoration,* in that he provided musical and structural references to the requiem while incorporating

[263] Chase, *Dies Irae*, 448.

[264] Ibid., 449-452.

materials from other cultures. Each movement was titled according to the *Missa pro defunctis,* with some alterations and repetitions of the Latin text. Kastalsky also incorporated purely instrumental movements, such as an *Interludium,* and in other movements he inserted additional texts into the traditional liturgy.[265] Kastalsky employed melodies "from Gregorian, Russian, English, Serbian liturgies, as well as Japanese and Indian sources."[266] The final indication of universality was provided through language of the texts: "nearly all movements include three textual versions: Latin (or Greek), Russian, and English. The first movement includes an Italian text."[267] Notably, this was one of the last Russian works before the 1917 Russian Revolution.[268] Kastalsky combined the music and languages of various cultures through the canvas of the requiem mass; in doing so, he elevated his requiem beyond liturgical use for a single denomination.

Requiems that unified things kept separate were composed to reflect local cultures by 1940, even though the Second World War was already underway. Vycpálek's *Ceské Requiem* combined "numerous passages from the Bible, a Czech translation of the *Dies Irae* text and the text of a Czech hymn."[269] He created a work that, for the first time, set the traditions of the Czech people on top of the requiem context. Here the title was used specifically to set context, as the structure of the liturgical requiem is not present in the body of the work. Instead, Vycpálek wrote four movements moving from darkness to

[265] Chase, *Dies Irae,* 482-483.

[266] Ibid., 481.

[267] Ibid., 482.

[268] Ibid.

[269] Ibid., 434.

hope over the course of approximately ninety minutes,[270] using his native language. Chase noted that "the title of the work, incidentally, is derived from the use of the Latin *Dies irae* in Czech translation;"[271] ignoring the context provided and connotations derived from the symbolic use of the Latin word in the title.

Composers also represented other faiths, farther removed from Catholicism than Protestantism was in Brahms's work, as they layered the traditional requiem text with their own religious texts and traditions. Davies's *Short Requiem* (1915) combined texts from the Anglican *Book of Common Prayer* with texts from the Latin mass without following the requiem structure. Davies titled his movements in Latin, even though the texts are in English: Salvator Mundi is the first movement, utilizing the text "O Savior of the World." Requiem aeternam is inserted as movements three and five. Movement six is a setting of the Revelation text, "Blessed are the dead."[272] Davies used "requiem" in the title as a signifier, and then used Latin names for his movements to provide additional connections to the Latin mass even though little else was taken directly from the genre.

Later Anglican composer Howells followed the same outline in 1936, but Bingham provided another Anglican model in 1945. His work begins with the Latin *Requiem aeternam* of the Introit, including the addition of the *Kyrie eleison* text in the first movement. The second movement, "Out of the Deep," is based on Psalm 130 and is followed by a Pie Jesu and a Sanctus. The Agnus Dei incorporated more scriptures from

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[270] Chase, *Dies Irae,* 434.

[271] Ibid.

[272] Ibid., 575.

the Anglican tradition, including "All flesh is as the grass," and ends with a text from Augustine of Hippo. Next is a Laudate Dominum, which incorporated Psalm 117 and the Gloria Patri, followed by "I heard a voice," setting the Revelation text "Blessed are the dead." Bingham ended the work with *Lux aeterna,* returning to the Latin *requiem aeternam* at the completion of the movement.[273] Like *Ein deutsches Requiem*, Bingham's Requiem was written for choir, orchestra, and soprano and baritone soloists.[274]

There are two interesting additions to the requiem genre after World War II; ironically, one Hebrew and one German. Zeisl's 1945 *Requiem Ebraico: The 92nd Psalm* is a one-movement setting of the "Mourner's Kaddish, a prayer in which the Lord is glorified and sanctified." Zeisl divided the movement into five large sections and utilized polyphonic writing, including a final four-part fugue. *Requiem Ebraico* "is dedicated to the memory of Zeisl's father, who was murdered in Treblinka concentration camp, and all the others who suffered at the hands of the Nazis."[275] Zeisl relocated to Los Angeles before he the composed this work. He employed musical ideas associated with Hebrew folk music[276] but titled the work using the Latin term. In this work, none of the Latin liturgy is present. The title was used as a signifier, and the only additional musical context is the use of polyphony and the performance forces. Like Brahms's work, Zeisl's

[273] Chase, *Dies Irae,* 573-574.

[274] Ibid., 572.

[275] Ibid., 506.

[276] Ibid.

"musical poetry" was "designed to comfort and console."[277] In uniting the Catholic requiem with the Hebrew Kaddish, Zeisl brought together things kept separate for thousands of years.

Mauersberger composed the *Dresdner Requiem* in 1947-48 to commemorate the thousands of civilians killed in Dresden on February 14 and 15, 1945, in an American and English Air Force bombing raid.[278] Mauersberger scored his work for three SATB choirs, one a smaller choir representing Christ and one an "echo choir" representing the "world of the departed,"[279] utilizing the polychoral traditions of Schütz. In addition, "the ideals of the Caecilian Movement, in terms of unaccompanied choral singing and a devotional presentation of the text, are realized in this work."[280] Mauersberger followed the outline of the Evangelical Lutheran Church memorial service. The movements include those found in earlier German *Trauermesse*, including the German version of the *Dies irae*, a Sanctus *(Heilig, Heilig, Heilig)*, Benedictus, and Agnus Dei *(Lamm Gottes)*. Mauersberger included a number of German chorales, and all texts were set in paraphrase and free translation[281], an example of the continue practice of setting the texts based on musical or expressive needs.

Mauersberger referenced his early German Protestant heritage in this setting of the Lutheran memorial service, yet chose to call his work "Requiem" rather than

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[277] Chase, *Dies Irae*, 507.

[278] Ibid., 488.

[279] Ibid.

[280] Ibid.

[281] Ibid., 488-497.

"Trauermesse." The common understanding and universal context of "requiem" enable a wider sense of mourning for the Dresden civilians than a Germans-only *Trauermesse*. Mauersberger used the Latin title even though the raid occurred in a German town, the music was based on German Lutheran traditions and texts, and the composer was German. Through the use of the more universal "Requiem," Mauersberger invited the world to mourn alongside the Germans for this loss and for other acts of war.

Finally, two other works represent the farthest reaches of the genre in the years following Brahms's *Ein deutsches Requiem*. Hindemith's 1948 *When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloomed: A Requiem "For those we love"* is not sacred, does not use any part of the requiem text, and does not use musical cues to refer to the requiem genre. "Requiem" appears in the title after the colon, a secondary part of the title much like Brahms's "*nach Worten der heiligen Schrift*." American poet Walt Whitman's text was a tribute to President Lincoln and the Civil War dead,[282] a solely American war. Hindemith drew a parallel to President Roosevelt and the dead of the Second World War, but the text was not altered. Listeners again followed Lincoln's coffin on the train tracks, hear the Army bugle playing *Taps*, and heard a line of poetry that "may have been a paraphrase of a then-popular love song, *Lorena*, well-known by both soldiers and civilians of the Union and Confederacy."[283]

Whitman's poetry is often a personal reflection on death in general and on his own reactions to the Civil War. The audience does not become a part of the mourning; in

[282] Chase, *Dies Irae*, 464.

[283] Ibid., 472.

this work they witness the poet's grief and hear his pleas for peace and a united country, but are left to make the connections to present day from outside the process. The audience does not take part in the grief except in their empathy with the narrator's personal reflection on death. This is a private requiem, referring to deaths of long ago to bring to mind more recent and personal war tragedies. The text's first-person perspective is constant throughout; this requiem was constructed as a private remembrance the listeners are invited to witness.

This "secular requiem"[284] is more like Schumann's setting of Goethe's text than like Brahms's work in that the poetry is lifted as a large quotation and the audience views the scene from the outside. It is revealing that in Chase's anthology Schumann's *Requiem für Mignon* received only a passing mention but Hindemith's *When Lilacs last in the Dooryard Bloomed* received a detailed entry as part of the twentieth-century requiem repertoire. In the hundred years between the two works, "requiem" came to be understood in a broader sense, a term with connotations bigger than a Latin text.

The acceptance of Hindemith's work as a requiem can be traced back to Brahms and the acceptance of his work as a requiem, despite its lack of the traditional text. Brahms did not champion an expanded requiem genre; he did not write articles about genre classification or about the compositional processes involved in referring to a genre without following its structures to the letter. Brahms allowed his music to speak for itself, and the acceptance of his music opened the door for other composers to refer to the requiem in a broader sense in their own way. Over the course of time, composers

[284] Chase, *Dies Irae*, 464.

repeated Brahms's symbolic use of the word enough that Hindemith's work was accepted as part of the requiem genre.

More evidence of the accepted use of the term as a signifier is found in 1940 with Britten's *Sinfonia da Requiem,* an orchestral work with no text at all. Britten used the word in the title in the same manner as Brahms; he established a context through which his audience experienced his music. Britten also titled each movement after a part of the requiem mass. These subtitles provided a more specific requiem-related context for each section of the work.

The success of this context can be measured in part by the response of the Japanese commissioning committee for whom the work was originally written. They "took exception to the nature of the work and its apparent Christian content" after initially accepting the outline.[285] The Japanese were not offended by the title; they found the Christian *content* offensive. Each movement conveyed the spirit of its title: the Lacrymosa is "a burden of lamentation and protest," the Dies irae succeeds as Britten's intended "dance of death," and the final Requiem aeternam is "a gesture of consolation and peace."[286] Britten tapped into the universal act of mourning and grief through the use of the requiem terms. A universal understanding of the genre and an acceptance of expanded applications of its terms and texts freed Britten to completely remove the text

[285] Keith Anderson, Notes for *Benjamin Britten (1913-1976), Sinfonia da Requiem, Four Sea Interludes and Passacaglia from Peter Grimes* on Naxos Digital Services Ltd. <http://www.naxos.com/mainsite/blurbs_reviews.asp?item_code=8.557196&catNum=557196&filetype=About%20this%20Recording&language=English.> (accessed February 2, 2010).

[286] Richard Freed, Notes for *Sinfonia da Requiem, Op. 20,* performed by the National Symphony Orchestra. Conducted by Leonard Slatkin, with Thomas Hampson, November 20-22, 2003, at the Kennedy Center <http://kennedycenter.org/calendar/?fuseaction=composition&composition_id=2769 (accessed January 31, 2010).

and still convey the spirit of the genre. The same was achieved by Howard Hanson in his 1943 *Symphony No. 4, Op. 34, 'Requiem.'* Hanson titled his movements Kyrie, Requiescat, Dies irae, and Lux aeterna, and took his listeners through the requiem genre without the presence of any other text.

In addition to the works mentioned above, twentieth-century composers such as Duruflé continued to write traditional requiems of various types. Duruflé's 1947 Requiem was based on the traditional French outline; he omitted the Sequence and included a Pie Jesu. Duruflé also incorporated elements of Gregorian chant to refer to the *stile antico* style of early requiems. German composers such as Kaun (1921) and Micheelsen (1938) composed requiems based on Brahms's work and the more traditional *Deutsche Trauermesse* through the combination of Lutheran scriptures and German translations of the traditional Latin text. Both Kaun and Micheelsen acknowledged Brahms's relevance in their history even though their works are more obviously Lutheran Protestant: Kaun titled his work *Requiem nach Worten der heiligen Schrift,* and Micheelsen chose *Tod und Leben: Ein deutsches Requiem.*

The requiem form continued to be a universally meaningful musical structure, both in its traditional Latin form and in the many expanded structures discussed above. These expanded structures can be traced back to the moment "requiem" became universal: a commonly understood term between a composer and an audience, a term used to provide a specific context for the reception of the music. This moment was clearly defined in *Ein deutsches Requiem,* and the use of the term to signify was thereafter part of the genre.

Post-1950: A Door Wide Open

A century after Brahms redefined the term, the requiem genre continued to expand in the many directions explored in the first half of the twentieth century. By the middle of the century, composers and audiences took the expanded definition of the term for granted . "Britten later wrote (in connection with *Sinfonia da Requiem*), 'I don't believe you can express social or political or economic theories in music, but by coupling new music with certain well known musical phrases, I think it's possible to get over certain ideas.'"[287] Composers continued to adapt the Latin title and the texts to create their own messages of peace and reconciliation, to express grief in various faiths and outside of religion, and to mourn with their nation, the world, or over a specific people.

Although the idea of the requiem as being married to its liturgical text had long since disappeared, the final blow was perhaps the decision of Second Vatican Council in the 1960s to allow the mass to be celebrated in the vernacular. When Catholics themselves abandoned the Latin liturgy, composers writing even for a liturgical Catholic funeral mass no longer necessarily used the Latin text. Lewin's 1969 *Mass for the Dead* was possibly the first setting of the Latin rite in English;[288] notably, Lewin translated the title as well as the text. Lewin added the Lord's Prayer after the Sanctus and returned to it before the final In Paradisum and Conclusion (Eternal rest).[289] Dedicated to the memory

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[287] Philip Brett, et al., "Britten, Benjamin," in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/46435pg10> (accessed January 30, 2010).

[288] Chase, *Dies Irae,* 405.

[289] Ibid., 406-407.

of Robert F. Kennedy, the work was first performed during a memorial service.[290] By the conclusion of the Second Vatican Council in the late 1960s, the modern liturgical Catholic requiem mass was no longer tied to the Latin text.

Britten's 1961 *War Requiem* expanded the symbolic requiem. Britten followed the Latin text in its entirety, but interspersed poetry by Wilfred Owen to create a dialogue surrounding the requiem mass.[291] This technique was later used by Pehkonen, who "glossed" the requiem text with words from Dante's *Inferno*, the Bible, Lenin, and Pasternak's *Zhivago's Poems* in his 1986 *Russian Requiem.* De Mars also used this technique when he added texts from Whitman, Martin Luther King, Jr., the Yizkor Prayer, the Bible, and Native American poetry in his 1993 *American Requiem.* In all of these works, the Latin liturgy was used as a canvas against which other texts were painted. Composers provided context not only through the symbolic use of titles but also through the presence of the Latin texts amidst the other incorporated messages. Thus the Latin liturgy was used outside of its liturgical setting; the texts themselves provided context and perspective as the works progressed.

The late twentieth century also provided another collaborative work, the 1995 *Requiem of Reconciliation*, commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the Second World War. New types of requiems include a communist requiem (Kabalevsky, 1963), a Buddhist requiem (Baštiks, 1979), and a Greek Orthodox requiem (Tavener, 1986). Composers overlaid the form with political statements, modern compositional techniques,

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[290] Chase, *Dies Irae,* 405.

[291] Ibid., 441.

and a particular focus, such as the 2001 AIDS requiem. The expanding diversity of approaches is documented in Appendix L: Post-1950 Requiems. Henze took the instrumental requiem one step farther, noting that he expected his instrumentalists "to *think* the words and assume the function of the singers, empathizing with that role and imitating it on their instruments."[292]

Twentieth-century composers and audiences did not question the appropriateness of "requiem" in these many contexts. No longer was the genre bound by the presence of the original Latin text. The requiem genre might have faced greatly diminished relevance without the expansion begun by Brahms; instead, the form was adopted and adapted by composers from all parts of the world. Ironically, it was the Second Vatican Council's decision to allow the vernacular that, in the end, may diminish the genre as a relevant form of musical communication. "Whether or not the *Requiem's* Latin text is known to individual listeners through first-hand experience of the celebration of a Requiem Mass, its recognizability *as* liturgy is basic to its symbolism."[293] When Brahms released the requiem from its dependence on the Latin text, nearly a hundred years earlier than the Second Vatican Council's decision, he allowed the form to expand its relevance beyond the bounds of the sacred service and to remain relevant for modern listeners. The liturgical requiem may be fading in the twenty-first century, but musical expressions of grief that reference the requiem genre continue to abound.

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[292] Hans Werner Henze, *Bohemian Fifths: An Autobiography*, translated by Steward Spencer (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 470.

[293] Philip Ernst Rupprecht, *Britten's Musical Language* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 199.

CHAPTER VII

EXPLAINING THE WHY: SYMBOLISM AND ENCODED MEANING

Ein deutsches Requiem extended the scope of the requiem genre from settings of the *Missa pro defunctis* to more symbolic musical masterworks on the subject of death. The word "requiem" became a symbol, transformed into a term suitably more universal, as is the nature of death. Evidence of the word as a symbol was documented in the examples previously described, in the methods and concepts used by other symbolists, and in the processes through which symbols encode meaning. A brief examination of symbolism and encoded meaning explain more fully the nature of communication through a symbol, and explains the relationship of Brahms's use of these devices to communication through symbols in general.

Symbolism

Symbolism became a widely used term toward the end of the nineteenth century, identifying a movement or trend of that era, especially with regard to French literature.[294] Symbolism did not spring forth unprecedented; symbolic reference was used by Romantic composers throughout the era. It later became a more prominently identified artistic movement, but threads of symbolism run throughout the century. "Symbolism is

[294] Anna Balakian, *The Symbolist Movement: A Critical Appraisal* (New York: New York University Press, 1977), 3.

Romanticism at its least tangible and palpable and essentially consists of the use of often familiar ideas and symbols in new, unfamiliar, and even disorienting contexts."[295] Through programmatic titles and contexts, for example, ideas were introduced before the music was heard; the title became a lens through which the music was filtered.

> In music, the most common designators consist of texts for vocal settings; titles, epigraphs, score annotations, and programs; and musical allusions both typical (to styles, genres, forms, or characteristic sonorities) and individual (to tunes, with or without associated words, or particular compositions). Alerted by the designator, the listener is empowered to find likenesses between specific features of the music and the designated object(s) of representation.[296]

In Brahms's case, the title is the designator and the listener is empowered to find the likeness to his designated object of representation: the liturgical requiem. Brahms alerted his listeners to the requiem genre through his title, a means of reference or form of symbolism commonly used during the Romantic age.

This type of leading suggestion is one of Longyear's definitions of symbolism:

> Symbolism can best be identified as (1) the use of a symbol (pictorial, literary, or musical) that suggests rather than describes and often produces associations other than the idea it represents; (2) an elitist-religious (though not strictly orthodox) atmosphere; and (3) sometimes a deliberate effort to cross the boundaries of the arts in an attempt to integrate them.[297]

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[295] Rey M. Longyear, *Nineteenth-Century Romanticism in Music*, 3rd ed. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1988), 20.

[296] Kramer, *Classical Music*, 69.

[297] Longyear, *Nineteenth-Century Romanticism in Music*, 20.

In other words, (1) a leading suggestion such as Brahms's title, (2) an icon that is raised to sacred status, and (3) intentional borrowing from other art forms to create cross-connections. Brahms used "requiem" as a symbol to suggest, rather than to describe. Symbolism occurred throughout the culture in several ways; Brahms utilized one of the most common approaches when he used a formerly descriptive word as a more universal signifier. Before *Ein deutsches Requiem,* the term "requiem" was used as a literal designation. Liturgical or not, written for concert hall or sanctuary, the music was described by the title. After *Ein deutsches Requiem* and the other suggestive titles common during the Romantic era, the term had the power to suggest, to produce an association through which the listener filtered the music.

The use of non-generic titles also enabled Romantic composers to set each work apart as a separate and unique entity. Compositions were no longer primarily functional in purpose, as were the many symphonies Haydn wrote for his patron or the cantatas Bach wrote for his church. Composers wrote for the concert hall and attempted to create masterworks for critical and public acclaim. Each work reached out to the listener in some way, to capture the audience's imagination and attention. "It might be instructive to consider the role of allusiveness in nineteenth-century music in terms of a distinction between various approaches to the experience of listening."[298] Composers provided symbolic and pictorial titles in order to heighten the listening experience, to provide context and association within the minds of their listeners. Because nineteenth-century

[298] John Daverio, *Crossing Paths: Schubert, Schumann and Brahms* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 245.

audiences were immersed in a variety of interpretive experiences, Brahms could reach out to his listeners through symbolism, musical cues, and textual references, and could expect the audience to listen for the connections embedded in the music.

The intentional internal focus within each composition provided a context in which the listener was made connections between the title, or program, and the music. In this way, internal meaning was heightened, and each work had the potential to assume greater personal meaning. The effort to make a work resonate for the individual was present in other artistic disciplines as well. Friedrich's *The Wreck of the 'Hope'* is an 1821 painting depicting a ship obliterated by ice and storms, with wreckage jagged in the midst of a barren Arctic land. A comment about its impact offers a reference to the same type of viewer-oriented dynamic in visual art: "The painting is a striking example of Friedrich's power to make a simple pictorial metaphor resonate in the mind: to make it become a symbol."[299] The metaphor resonates in the mind of each viewer; the artist paints with the individual in mind. The symbol is suggested through the title, the image provides context and cues, and the meaning is heightened when the individual provides personal connections and assigns meanings connecting the title and image.

Thus it was not only concert hall audiences who were expected to make connections; it was a force of the Romantic age to expect listener, viewer, or reader competence. In the case of music, "competence is assumed on the part of the listener, enabling the composer to enter into a contract with his audience. If something is

[299] Edward Lucie-Smith, *Symbolist Art* (New York: Praeger, 1972), 28.

commonplace, then it is meant to be understood by all competent listeners."[300] Brahms and other Romantic composers relied on their audiences to follow their suggestive titles, to synthesize the cues in the music and to create their own heightened sense of meaning. "Synthesis is a particularly important Symbolist concept: it involves an effort to combine elements found in the real world, or even borrowed from other works of art, to produce a separate, different, and certainly self-sufficient reality."[301] Composers and other artists put forth an effort to produce different realities and listeners, viewers, and readers put forth an effort to perceive connections and assign personal meaning.

Each work was intended as a self-sufficient and unique work, with its own reality and its own internal connections. Yet the interpretation is not dictated: the designator suggests, the artist provides references within the work, and the listener is expected to make the connection. Textual cues, such as the words of a title, "do not establish (authorize, fix) a meaning that the music somehow reiterates, but only invite the interpreter to find meaning in the interplay of expressive acts."[302] Brahms's title invites the listener to find meaning in the interplay of the traditional requiem and his new text and text message. The interaction of the historical genre and Brahms's music is heightened as the listener perceives the connections. The connection completed in the listener's mind turns the word into a designator, or symbol.

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[300] Agawu, *Playing with Signs,* 33.

[301] Lucie-Smith, *Symbolist Art*, 55.

[302] Lawrence Kramer, *Music as Cultural Practice, 1800-1900* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 10.

Though Romantic artists sought to create a new reality with each work, their works were not completely cut off from historical roots or generic meaning. "Symbolist painters were acutely aware of their links with the past,"[303] just as Brahms studied historical forms and formed a purposeful link with the traditional requiem genre. Like Brahms with his interest in historical forms, "even the artists most deeply rooted in the past took enormous strides in this direction."[304] Symbolists looked to past forms for objects of representation, and then transformed them and created new realities.

When Symbolism crystallized into a movement in the later part of the century, the search for new ways to express old ideas continued. "[O]ne of the most striking characteristics of Symbolist and Decadent art is its restless search for new modes of expression. The old subjects, if not exactly abandoned, were certainly seen in new ways."[305] Brahms enabled his listeners to perceive the traditional requiem genre and the timeless subject of death in a new way. Reworking past styles was part of the symbolist approach across art forms during and following the Romantic era. Brahms was particularly noted for his interest in old forms within musical circles, but he was not alone among composers, nor among other artists of the nineteenth century.

As stated, Brahms traveled in intellectual circles, was an avid reader, and took an active interest in modern philosophy and technological advances. As such, he was part of the culture in which this kind of symbolism was commonplace.

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[303] John Christian, *Symbolists and Decadents* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1978), Introduction.

[304] Ibid.

[305] Ibid.

> To the extent that it sought to effect a re-enchantment of the world by reforming perception, the symbolist theory of the philosophically minded Romantics, for the most part Germans, was closely related to the poetic project of English poets like Wordsworth and Shelley, who sought to reveal the extraordinary in the ordinary and thereby transform human understanding of the external world.[306]

Brahms was a "philosophically minded Romantic" who reformed the perception of the requiem. He was one of many Romantic artists who sought to transform understanding, to create new perspectives, and to allow listeners, viewers, and readers to encounter new possibilities through old forms. Brahms provided a new perspective, one that hinged on the ability of his listeners to make the connections between title and music, to understand the old form while accepting a new perspective, and to assign internal meaning to the work. The success of his work and the prevalence of symbolic requiems that followed are evidence that, in his attempt to use "requiem" symbolically, Brahms was successful.

Encoded Meaning

Semiotic theory encompasses many different types of signs: icons, codes, pictorial symbols, and other forms of representation. In the case of *Ein deutsches Requiem*, the music functions like a text.

> In semiotic theory, 'larger signs' such as equations and novels are called *texts*; and the meanings or 'larger signifieds' that they encode are called *messages.* Texts include conversations, poems, myths, novels, television programs, paintings, scientific theories, and musical compositions.[307]

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[306] Nicholas Halmi, *The Genealogy of the Romantic Symbol* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 24.

[307] Danesi, *The Quest for Meaning*, 98.

As a text, the composition functions with one message, signifying one meaning throughout the many movements, sections, phrases, and notes. Rather than interpreting the smaller parts individually, the work is interpreted as a whole. "Texts are not constructed or interpreted in terms of the meanings of their constituent parts (the smaller signs), but holistically as single forms."[308] Thus in its analysis *Ein deutsches Requiem* functions as a whole to signify the requiem genre, and it is not singular in this type of signification. The cues written in the music and in the texts all point to the same message: that Brahms's work represented the requiem genre.

The message is intended by the composer, and the listener is left to interpret the message through personal assignment of meaning and relevance. But the interpretation of the text is not open-ended. Umberto Eco suggested that,

> … according to reader variables, in reality the nature of the text itself and the author's intentions constrain the range of interpretations. When a given interpretation goes beyond this range, other people tend to evaluate it as erroneous, extreme, far-fetched, or implausible.[309]

The analysis of Brahms's work in relation to the documented conventions of the requiem genre provided evidence about the nature of Brahms's text. Evidence in early writings about the composition, the compositional and text choices made during the work's construction, and the events leading up to the premiere all documented Brahms's intentions regarding the work. A given interpretation of genre cannot exceed the bounds of these constraints and still be considered valid.

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[308] Danesi, *The Quest for Meaning,* 98.

[309] Ibid.,100.

The tendency toward interpretive constraint limits the possibilities for genre classification with regard to *Ein deutsches Requiem*. Brahms's intentions were clearly connected with the requiem, and the nature of his "text," the music and the words, supported his claim. Interpretations of the work as a cantata, vocal symphony, or other musical genre did not become widespread because other listeners evaluated those interpretations and found them implausible. The only factor separating Brahms's work from the requiem genre is the absence of the *Missa pro defunctis* text. The performance forces, movement structure, textual theme, and specific compositional devices all point to the requiem genre. In the end, the strength of Brahms's intentions shape the listener's interpretation toward the genre he named. His "text" is that of a large-scale choral-orchestral work for the dead, incorporating the requiem genre in every way but one. *Ein deutsches Requiem* is an example of a larger sign, holistically interpreted.

The assignment of genre within the title provided an obvious framework for the listener, a context established before the first note was played. This identification built upon Classical era tendencies by setting up a form-related framework within the title, identifying and establishing expectations for specific musical constructs. The identification of genre sets up perspective for the listener. The composer then enters into a dialogue with the listener through the listener's own expectations of form. According to musicologist Jeffrey Kallberg, the function of genre

> … is to provide a common framework for the act of aesthetic communication, a kind of contract between composer and listener: the composer adopts certain

> conventions, patterns and gestures; the listener consents to interpret them in the appropriate manner.[310]

When the words of the title include designations of genre, the composer is expected to adopt the conventions, patterns, and gestures of that genre.

Brahms set up the contract and then chose the conventions of form he would follow. The fact that he broke with tradition is to be expected in light of the Romantic compositional norm; it is the *means* of the break, with the long-standing text, that was so innovative and unexpected.

> Such contracts, however, are made to be broken, certainly to be played with and composed against, and departures from the norm, the frustration of expectations and the rejection of generic prescription can become major forces in the process of change.[311]

Brahms's decision to frustrate the expectation of text resulted in change within the genre. This change altered the choices available to future requiem composers, regardless of the composer's decision to incorporate any direct imitation of *Ein deutsches Requiem*.

Definition of genre, like symbolism, is evident in all artistic forms. Genre "is governed by its own codes and rules and possesses its own lexicon."[312] In music, the lexicon consists of performance forces, formal construction, and specific musical devices

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[310] Michael Chanan, *From Handel to Hendrix: The Composer in the Public Sphere* (London: Verso, 1999), 39.

[311] Ibid.

[312] Raymond Monelle, *The Sense of Music: Semiotic Essays* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 119.

such as texture, melody, and dramatic intent. Only in the Mass and the Requiem Mass is text considered part of the lexicon. Still, genre is larger than any one element.

> Literary writers use the word often in the sense of a stylistic constellation which may appear from time to time in works of various kinds; the pastoral genre, for example, is present in many works that are not specifically called 'pastoral'. Typically, genre is something that is in the work, rather than something that the work is in. A genre is full of signs of itself, which reassure the reader that she is within the understood world of the genre, which is gratefully and lovingly accepted.[313]

Likewise, Brahms filled his requiem with the other signs of the genre. In the case of *Ein deutsches Requiem,* the genre is in the work even though the word "requiem" does not appear in the text. The "signs of itself" detailed in earlier chapters define Brahms's work as a requiem. In this case, the work was specifically called "requiem," yet the lack of text forces the listener to hear beyond the text to the other signs present within. This is a normal process across the arts with respect to the determination of genre; Brahms's requiem is an example of a work missing one obvious part of the lexicon, stretching the connection and pushing the definition in a new direction through the many other signs of the genre present throughout the work.

Over the course of the entire work and in context with the culture, the individual listener was expected to grasp the meaning of Brahms's text. "Musical meaning is understood as communicative action and therefore as embedded in a continuous texture of psychological, social, and cultural relations."[314] The communication or message from

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[313] Monelle, *The Sense of Music,* 119.

[314] Lawrence Kramer, *Musical Meaning: Toward a Critical History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 7.

Brahms was one of mourning, comfort, and reflection on the subject of death, through his text and through his music. The message did not rely on the presence of the Latin text; communication occurred because communication is a dynamic process.

> [Music] means not primarily by what it says but by the way it models the symbolization of experience. Musical meaning is understood, both in practice and in analytical reflection, not by translating music as a virtual utterance or depiction, but by grasping the dynamic relations between musical experience and its contents.[315]

The way Brahms modeled the experience of grief and mourning and established a dynamic relationship between the requiem genre and the contents of his work provided the foundation for musical communication.

Because Brahms was able to connect to the experience of a requiem mass through the seriousness of his composition, the subject of death, the use of common musical devices, and the use of familiar texts, his message was communicated to the listener. When the listener understands Brahms's message, grasping Brahms's intention to communicate the experience of the requiem, the communication is complete. Whether or not the listener believes or appreciates Brahms's message is another question; the success of the communication does not rely on agreement with the message. Communication has occurred upon receipt of the message. The connection between the musical experience and the contents of the work, created in the listener's mind as Brahms's intentions and cues are perceived, is communication.

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[315] Kramer, *Musical Meaning*, 7.

Culture is a changing, evolving and growing part of society that lends itself to continual redefinition, including transformation in the means of communication. Genres of all types have evolved over time, along with other forms of communication and other aspects of culture. Danesi described this evolution through another type of symbolic format: common maps. He pointed out that "like any other code-based system of representation, map-making is adaptive, changing in tandem with the political and historical events that alter nationhood."[316] Knowledge alters the codes we use; as time passes our knowledge about geography changes, political changes affect borders, and our instruments become more precise.

In the case of the requiem, functional music for the sanctuary evolved into massive concert works. Sacred remembrance and commemoration became more public, elevated in importance and in spectacle. Due to the widespread understanding of the genre, Brahms was able to use the smaller signs within the genre to communicate with those who shared this knowledge. Brahms's culture, described in detail earlier, provided an environment that allowed him to communicate "requiem" in a new way, initiating a change that caused the genre to evolve with the culture.

> The late Estonian semiotician Jurij Lotman (1922-93) suggested, in fact, that culture be renamed the *semiosphere*. Like the biosphere—the environment or habitat to which a species has become adapted—the semiosphere regulates and shapes perception and cognition. Although they can do little about the biosphere, humans have the ability to reshape the semiosphere any time they want—hence the dynamic that inheres between signs (such as words) and perception. This dynamic is the reason why cultures are both restrictive and liberating. They are restrictive in that they impose on individuals born into them an already fixed

[316] Danesi, *The Quest for Meaning,* 80.

> system of sign use. This system will largely determine how people come to understand the world around them in terms of the language, music, myths, rituals, technological systems, and other codes that they learn in social context. But cultures are also liberating because, paradoxically, they provide the signifying resources by which individuals can seek new meanings on their own. The many codes to which individuals are exposed in social contexts stimulate creativity. As a result, human beings tend to become restless for new meanings, new ways to represent the world. For this reason, codes are constantly being modified by new generations of artists, scientists, philosophers, and others to meet new demands, new ideas, new challenges.[317]

Brahms modified the code and created a new type of requiem. In doing so, he created a shift in the culture and in the reception of all requiems. Acceptance of his work as a requiem does not have to be universal for the shift to have happened; the evidence following Brahms's work points to a continuation of the traditional genre *and* an expansion of the genre through works that use the term symbolically to set a context, or to provide a background against which other texts can be overlaid. Culturally, the requiem genre changed. The genre became a form that was relevant beyond the boundaries of its original liturgical text.

This type of evolution did not occur with the Mass. Brahms was able to separate "requiem" from "mass," resulting in a culturally relevant form that transcended denominational boundaries. "Mass" is denominationally dependent, a sacred genre limited by function. "Requiem" evolved around the universality of death, transcending even sacred-secular lines to find relevance across nations, belief systems, and generations. It evolved because the word was perceived as a signifier, rather than a descriptor tied to a specific, limited function.

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[317] Danesi, *The Quest for Meaning,* 92.

> Therein lies the paradox of the human condition—throughout the life cycle, there is an unexplainable need within each individual to transcend the categories of knowing provided by existing sign systems. Changes to the format are what lead cumulatively to cultural evolution. Sign systems undergo constant change in response to any new need or demand that humans may have.[318]

Brahms was part of a culture that allowed a new representation to flourish. His transformational use of the term was needed in the midst and in the wake of revolution and war. Brahms's compositional mastery enabled the requiem to evolve and to remain relevant for future composers and audiences.

[318] Danesi, *The Quest for Meaning,* 95.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

Johannes Brahms was the first to compose a requiem without the standard Latin text. The absence of the *Missa pro defunctis* text within the body of this work, titled "requiem," created complications with regard to genre classification. Analysis of the requiem genre over time coupled with a semiotic analysis of form, text, and context provided an answer to the question of genre related to *Ein deutsches Requiem*. Recognition that Brahms used "requiem" as a signifier alters understanding of the genre and expands the form to include non-Catholic works on the subject of death.

The presence of "requiem" as a signifier within the genre also created an associational perspective for listeners to approach the genre as a whole. Listeners unable to relate to the Latin text and Catholic theology of the *Missa pro defunctis* gained an awareness of the genre through more familiar contexts, perhaps acquiring a perspective through which all requiems can be heard. Death is a universal subject, transcending denominational doctrine; the musical genre associated with the subject of death gained universality when Brahms made it universal through the use of "requiem" as a designator rather than as a descriptor.

As a signifier, "requiem" pointed to the liturgical form. A sense of the sacred was transferred to the work by the context the term provided. Brahms initiated this

development, taking a small but important step away from the traditions of the requiem genre and exhibiting semiotic consciousness in his intention to write a requiem. This first step in a different direction widened the genre's path but did not completely diverge from it. This was not the start of a new genre; it was an expansion of the traditional genre. Brahms relied on the constant presence of secondary systems of convention to connect his work to the traditional genre. His use of polyphonic writing and fugues, textural changes, traditional performance forces and similar movement structures established sufficient parallels between *Ein deutsches Requiem* and the requiem genre.

The strength and number of connections to the traditions of the genre legitimized the title. Listeners perceive the genre within the work despite the absence of the traditional text; this perception signals reception of the intended communication. The cultural traditions of 1868 Germany provided a context for communication between composer and listener that Brahms utilized to communicate his message. Brahms constructed his work such that his audience perceived his musical references and cues. He cultivated acceptance of his work as part of the genre through intentional musical and textual parallels. This exemplifies communication through a sign: "requiem" was transformed from a descriptive word into a symbol filled with context and connotation, awaiting the listener's reception to produce personal meaning. The result was a musical genre with relevance beyond its original liturgical home, expanding the potential for personal meaning across religious, political, and geographic lines.

After the success of *Ein deutsches Requiem,* composers from around the world used the term to communicate context rather than liturgy. Meaning was encoded in the

term and into the genre through other works that claimed the title and then veered from the traditional text, movement structure, or conventional musical techniques. As more composers used the term as a signifier the musical culture absorbed the change, and widespread acceptance of the word as a signifier grew. Later composers did not draw as many parallels through secondary systems of convention to prove their connection to the genre; the term had acquired symbolic status and was accepted as a term that provided context rather than as one that described the contents of the composition.

Brahms was able to encode meaning through a methodical and progressive transformation of a traditional form. Researchers could explore the presence of similar processes in other musical genres using semiotic analysis. This analytical tool, outlined by Danesi and applied in this document, provides a method for examining music in relation to symbols, culture, and context to determine produced meaning. The relationship between a title and the music that follows is not a closed system confined to these two elements; cultural context brings a two-dimensional relationship into a three-dimensional perspective and enhances understanding of an individual work, the meanings it produces, and the genre to which it belongs.

Context can be established in any number of ways; titles other than those naming traditional genres may also establish a context through which the composer can expect the music to be filtered. Further exploration of the dynamic that exists among composer intention, musical context, and listener perception will deepen understanding of communicated meaning in musical works and in other art forms. As musicologists continue to study the explosion of individual forms and compositional approaches since

the Romantic era, semiotics provides an avenue for uncovering common ground and interconnections between these works and the audiences who receive, or complete, the communication. Semiotic analysis provides a method for examining artistic communication that includes the listener, the one who completes the communicative process as the received message is assigned personal meaning. Composers guide the message, limiting the number of credible meanings through compositional cues. Uncovering these cues is the work of the semiotician.

Ein deutsches Requiem is the work that shifted the requiem genre; this document focused on that shift and briefly mentioned composers who also used "requiem" to establish context. A closer analysis of specific requiems that followed this shift would provide documentation regarding the degree to which composers continued to utilize secondary systems of convention as the genre evolved. Such an analysis would outline the evolution of the symbolic term in relation to the presence or absence of traditional systems of convention with increased clarity. The evolution of the requiem genre can be reexamined in light of the new path opened by Brahms, to determine more specifically the steps along the path that continued to expand the symbolic meaning of the term.

Genre studies like those by Robert Chase provide the data needed for these connections to be made. Detailed studies of form over time enable recognition of shifts in genre, points for further examination of cultural connections. Early musicians did not have access to written scores or recordings to study and compile. Once scores began to accumulate, our knowledge base was begun. Modern musicians have access to early scores and now to generations of music in both print and recorded form; the more

musical scores historians uncover, the greater our understanding of form over time. By identifying moments of change along the evolutionary path of a genre, musicologists provide insight into the ways musical communication continues to adapt and to remain relevant for contemporary audiences.

Brahms did not expand the requiem genre by accident. He studied historical forms, took an interest in the music of master composers, and set his sights on a new kind of requiem. Brahms had a vision of a universal work, music on a universal subject with the potential to communicate his message to all of mankind. He did so through the word "requiem," which he transformed from literal to symbolic, and through recognizable musical and textual cues embedded in his composition. The semiotic analysis of *Ein deutsches Requiem* detailed in this document outlines how he was able to succeed.

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APPENDIX A

LITURGICAL REQUIEM TEXTS

Introit

Requiem aeternam dona eis, Domine: Et lux perpetua luceat eis.	Rest eternal grant to them, Lord, And light perpetual shine on them.
Te decet hymnus Deus in Zion, Et tibi redetur votum in Jerusalem:	A hymn befits thee, God in Zion, And to thee a vow shall be fulfilled in Jerusalem.
Exaudi orationem meam, Ad te omnis caro veniet.	Hear my prayer, Unto thee all flesh shall come.
Requiem aeternam dona eis, Domine: Et lux perpetua luceat eis.	Rest eternal grant to them, Lord, And light perpetual shine on them.

Kyrie

Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison, Kyrie eleison.	Lord have mercy, Christ have mercy, Lord have mercy.

Gradual (usually spoken)

Requiem aeternam dona eis, Domine, et lux perpetua luceat eis.	Rest eternal grant them, Lord, and light perpetual shine on them.
In memoria aeterna erit iustus: ab auditione mala non timebit.	In memory eternal will be the just: of evil reports he will not fear.

Tract (usually spoken)

Absolve, Domine, animas omnium fidelium defunctorum ab omni vinculo delictorum. Et gratia tua illis succurente, mereantur evadere judicium ultionis.	Absolve, Lord, the souls of all faithful departed from all bonds of their sin. And by your grace be restored, and escape the judgment they deserve.

Sequence

Dies irae, dies illa, Solvet saeclum in favilla: Teste David cum Sibylla.	Day of wrath, that day Shall dissolve the world into embers, As David prophesied with the Sibyl.
Quantus tremor est futures, Quando judex est venturus, Cuncta stricte discussurus!	How great the trembling will be, When the Judge shall come, The rigorous investigator of all things!
Tuba mirum spargens sonum Per sepulchra regionum Coget omnes ante thronum.	The trumpet, spreading its wondrous sound Through the tombs of every land, Will summon all before the throne.
Mors stupebit, et natura, Cum resurget creatura, Judicanti responsura.	Death will be stunned, likewise nature, When all creation shall rise again To answer the One judging.
Liber scriptus preferetur, In quo totum continetur, Unde mundus judicetur.	A written book will be brought forth, In which all shall be contained, And from which the world shall be judged.
Judex ergo cum sedebit, Quid-quid latet apparebit: Nil inultum remanebit.	When therefore the Judge is seated, Whatever lies hidden shall be revealed, No wrong shall remain unpunished.
Quid sum miser tunc dicturus? Quem patronum rogaturus? Cum vix justus sit securus.	What then am I, a poor wretch, going to say? Which protector shall I ask for, When even the just are scarcely secure?
Rex tremendae majestatis, Qui salvandos salvas gratis, Salva me fons pietatis.	King of terrifying majesty, Who freely saves the saved: Save me, fount of pity.
Recordare Jesu pie, Quod sum causa tuae viae, Ne me perdas illa die.	Remember, merciful Jesus, That I am the cause of your sojourn; Do not cast me out on that day.
Quarens me, sedisti lassus: Redemisti crucem passus: Tantus labor non sit cassus.	Seeking me, you sat down weary; Having suffered the Cross, you redeemed me. May such great labor not be in vain.

Sequence, continued

Juste judex ultionis, Donum fac remissionis, Ante diem rationis.	Just Judge of vengeance, Grant the gift of remission Before the day of reckoning.
Ingemisco, tamquam reus: Culpa rubet vultus meus: Supplicanti parce Deus.	I groan, like one who is guilty; My face blushes with guilt. Spare thy supplicant, O God.
Qui Mariam absolvisti, Et latronum exaudisti, Mihi quoque spem dedisti.	You who absolved Mary [Magdalene], And heeded the thief, Have also given hope to me.
Preces meae non sunt dignae: Sed tu bonus fac benigne, Ne perenni cremer igne.	My prayers are not worthy, But Thou, good one, kindly grant That I not burn in the everlasting fires.
Inter oves locum praesta, Et ab haedis me sequestra, Statuens in parte dextra.	Grant me a favored place among thy sheep, And separate me from the goats, Placing me at thy right hand.
Confutatis maledictis, Flammis acribus addictis, Voca me cum benedictis.	When the accursed are confounded, Consigned to the fierce flames: Call me to be with the blessed.
Oro supplex et acclinis, Cor contritum quasi cinis: Gere curam mei finis.	I pray, suppliant and kneeling, My heart contrite as if it were ashes: Protect me in my final hour.
Lacrimosa dies illa, Qua resurget ex favilla,	O how tearful that day, On which shall rise from embers
Judicandus homo reus. Huic ergo parce Deus.	Man to be judged guilty. Spare them then, O God.
Pie Jesu Domine, Dona eis requiem.	Merciful Lord Jesus, Grant them rest.

Offertory

Domine Jesu Christe, Rex gloriae	Lord Jesus Christ, King of glory,
Libera animas omnium fidelium defunctorum	Liberate the souls of all faithful departed
De poenis inferni et de profundo lacu:	From the pains of hell and from the deep pit:
Libera eas de ore leonis,	Deliver them from the mouth of the lion;
Ne absorbeat eas tartarus,	Let not hell swallow them up,
Ne cadant in obscurum:	Let them not fall into darkness:
Sed signifer sanctus Michael	But let Michael, the holy standard-bearer,
Repraesentet eas in lucem sanctam:	Bring them into the holy light,
Quam olim Abrahae promisisti,	Which once thou promised to Abraham
Et semini ejus.	And to his seed.
Hostias et preces tibi,	Sacrifices and prayers of praise,
Domini, laudis offerimus:	Lord, we offer to thee:
Tu suscipe pro animabus illis,	Receive them on behalf of those souls
Quarum hodie memoriam facimus:	We commemorate this day:
Fac eas, Domine,	Grant them, Lord,
De morte transpire ad vitam.	to pass from death to life,
Quam olim Abrahae promisisti,	Which once thou promised to Abraham
Et semini ejus.	And to his seed.

Sanctus

Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus,	Holy, Holy, Holy,
Dominus Deus Sabaoth.	Lord God of Hosts.
Pleni sunt caeli et terra	Heaven and earth are full
Gloria tua.	of thy glory.
Hosanna in excelsis.	Hosanna in the highest.

Benedictus

Benedictus qui venit	Blessed is he who comes
In nomine Domini.	in the name of the Lord.
Hosanna in excelsis.	Hosanna in the highest.

Agnus Dei

Agnus Dei, Qui tollis peccata mundi, Dona eis requiem.	Lamb of God, Who takes away the sins of the world, Grant them rest.
Agnus Dei, Qui tollis peccata mundi, Dona eis requiem.	Lamb of God, Who takes away the sins of the world, Grant them rest.
Agnus Dei, Qui tollis peccata mundi, Dona eis requiem sempiternam.	Lamb of God, Who takes away the sins of the world, Grant them rest everlasting.

Communion

Lux aeterna luceat eis, Domine: Cum sanctis tuis in aeternum: Quia pius es.	Light eternal shine on them, Lord, With thy saints forever and ever: For thou art merciful.
Requiem aeternam dona eis, Domine, Et lux perpetua luceat eis.	Rest eternal grant to them, Lord, And light perpetual shine on them.

Responsory (from the Burial Rite)

Libera me, Domine, de morte aeterna in die illa tremenda quando coeli movendi sunt et terra dum venerit judacare saeculum per ignem.	Deliver me, Lord, from death eternal on the day fearful when heavens are moved and earth when you come to judge the world through fire.
Tremens factus sum ego et timeo, dum discussio venerit atque ventura ira.	I am made to tremble and fear, when desolation comes, and also comes the wrath.
Dies irae, dies illa, calamitatis et miseriae, dies magna et amara valde.	That day, day of wrath, calamity and misery, the day terrible and very bitter.
Requiem aeternam dona eis, Domine, et lux perpetua luceat eis.	Rest eternal grant them, Lord, and light perpetual shine on them.

Antiphon (from the Rite of Absolution)

In paradisum deducant te angeli, in tuo adventu suscipiant te martyres, et perducant te in civitatem sanctam Jerusalem.	Into paradise may you be led by angels, May you in your coming be received by the martyrs, and may you be guided into the holy city Jerusalem.
Chorus angelorum te suscipiat, et cum Lazaro quondam pauper aeternam habeas requiem.	May the chorus of angels receive you, and with Lazarus who was once poor may you have eternal rest.

Translations adapted from Ron Jeffers, *Translations and Annotations of Choral Repertoire*; Latin Phrase Translation, online; and Choral Public Domain Library, online.

APPENDIX B

REQUIEM FORMS AND FUNCTIONS, 1750-1867

Composer/ Date	**Concertato Elements**	**Polyphony/Presence of Fugue**	**Forms Used**	**Notes about the Work**
Jommelli 1756	Concertato style for soloists and choir	Violin counterpoint Kyrie fugato, fugue Pie Jesu fugue Quam olim Hosanna, repeated Lux aeterna	ABA	For the death of Duchess of Württemberg
J.C. Bach 1757 (unfinished)	Dies irae is suite: choral and solo pieces	3 double fugues; Kyrie, Rex tremendae, Dona eis requiem Canon	ABA Binary	Dramatic antiphonal effects Bel canto soli
Gossec 1760		Passages of imitative polyphony, use of canon Et lux perpetua Amen (fugues)	Recitative Aria Overture Binary	Brass orchestration with added winds; placed on platform Pictorial effects Orchestral introductions
Zwierzchowski 1760	Solo quartet in concertato fashion	Kyrie Osanna, repeats Cum sanctis tuis – fugal passage	Bel canto solos Instrumental introductions Tuba mirum is a polonaise Oro supplex is a cappella	
M. Haydn 1771	SATB soli in contrast with SATB choir	Kyrie; Quam olim, repeated; Cum sanctis, repeated Other imitative passages	ABA modified	Restrained solos Meets liturgical requirements Written on death of Archbishop patron
Gassmann 1772-1774 (unfinished)	Strings play in concertato fashion	Imitative polyphony		

Composer/ Date	Concertato Elements	Polyphony/Presence of Fugue	Forms Used	Notes about the Work
Dittersdorf Before 1787	Choir/duets Solos	Points of imitation	ABA	Primarily homophonic Strings prominent
Schmittbaur		Huic ergo Lux aeterna (Both share the same subject)	Folk song quotations Hunting calls Virtuoso arias ABA, ABC	Perhaps a collection of earlier-composed pieces
Pleyel 1781-91	Choir alternates with SATB soli in the Sequence	Kyrie	ABA	Modeled on Viennese style
Paisiello 1789		Little fugal writing	"Motto" theme in orchestra Orchestral introductions Binary Bel canto arias Theme & var. ABCA, ABA	Composed as a memorial for sons of Ferdinand IV For double choir Sinfonia composed later and attached to the Requiem
Winter 1790	Concertato treatment of SATB soli and SATB choir	Kyrie Osanna Lux aeterna	ABA AA	Composed for funeral of Joseph II Both Latin and German texts are present in the score
Mozart 1791	Solo passages interjected into choral movements	Kyrie (double fugue), repeated in Cum sanctis Osanna (modified on repeat) Quam olim, repeated	Brief orchestral introductions Pictorial elements in orchestra Prelude & Fugue	Finished by Süssmayer & Eybler
Eybler 1803	Used when composing for soloists and choir	Quam olim; repeats Osanna is fughetta and repeats Cum sanctis; repeats	ABA	Commissioned by Maria Theresa Dies irae for double choir First use of clarinet

Composer/ Date	Concertato Elements	Polyphony/Presence of Fugue	Forms Used	Notes about the Work
Salieri 1804	Choral & solo parts in concertato fashion	Quam olim – fughetta, repeated Osanna – fugue, shortened on repeat	No solo arias ABA Two Gregorian intonations	Composed for himself
M. Haydn - Bb 1806, unfinished		Kyrie, Christe, both employed in final Kyrie	ABA	Commissioned by Maria Theresa
Reicha 1803-09		Kyrie Quam olim, repeated Osanna, repeated Requiem aeternam		Strings predominant
Vogler 1809	SATB soli are used as a classical version of the concertato second choir	Pleni sunt coeli Lux aeterna	Orchestral introductions	Composed for the funeral of Haydn Quotes Protestant hymn in Te decet Gregorian Agnus melody used in Agnus Dei II, in mixolydian mode
Righini 1810 (fragment)	Arranged for concertato a cappella choir	None	ABA	Composed upon the death of Queen Louise
Mayr – Dm		Some polyphonic writing in Christe, Amen of Dies irae, and Benedictus		One of a group of three Requiems for practical use in small parishes
Mayr – Gm 1815	Passages in concertato style Obbligato and solo passages	Kyrie Cuncta stricte Amen Benedictus Requiem aeternam Et lux	Orchestral introductions Binary Bel canto arias with cadenzas ABA, ABCA	Most extensive of his six requiems
Nuñez-Garcia 1816 (Dm)	Traces found in several movements	Imitative polyphony used only in the Kyrie	ABA	Requested by exiled King; one of four requiems

Composer/ Date	Concertato Elements	Polyphony/Presence of Fugue	Forms Used	Notes about the Work
Cherubini Cm 1816	Unison choral lines for textural changes	Quam olim; repeated Canonic writing	ABA	Commission by Louis XVIII No solos; use of unison choral lines
Bomtempo 1818	SATB soli/ SATB choir alternations	Judex ergo Juste judex Quam olim Hosanna	Coloristic effects in orchestra ABA	
Tomášek 1820	Solo voices and choir in concertato fashion	Pie Jesu Quam olim – fugal writing Osanna, repeated	Pictorial orchestral writing ABA	Composed for flood victims Scored for double choir
Fe. Schubert 1828 (Gm)		Quam olim, repeated	AAA	Dedicated to the memory of his brother, Franz
Cherubini Dm 1834-36		Kyrie – fugal Canonic writing Quam olim – fugal, repeats	ABA	For male voices Some a cappella passages
Donizetti 1835	Traces of concertato style found in some movements	Kyrie II – fugal Rex tremendae - fugal Lacrymosa Amen – double fugue	Operatic Orchestral introduction Prelude-fughetta Binary	In memory of Bellini
Berlioz 1837	Use of choral unisons Lines added or omitted: 'Romantic concertato"	Hosanna- fughetta, repeats	Unaccompanied passages Orchestral interludes Orchestral ostinato	National style of the French Revolution; Commissioned by French government
Bruckner 1849	Concertato use of solo voices and choral passages	Qui Mariam – canon Oro supplex – fugal Quam olim – double fugue	Orchestral doubling ABA Canonic pairing Alla breve	One Requiem lost; another is only a fragment Liturgically appropriate

Composer/ Date	**Concertato Elements**	**Polyphony/Presence of Fugue**	**Forms Used**	**Notes about the Work**
Schumann 1852	Soloists are employed in concertato style	Kyrie is fugal Ingemisco is canon Pleni sunt coeli Agnus Dei is canon Cum sanctis is canonic	ABA	Performed after his death upon recommendation from Brahms
Suppé 1855	Concertato use of SATB soli and SATB choir	Kyrie – double fugue Quam olim, repeated Cum Sanctis	Operatic tradition Quotation of Mozart Lacrymosa Choral recitative	15/8 meter in Mors stupebit Conceived as a liturgical expression
Kiel 1862	Soloists are employed in concertato style	Quam olim, repeated Hostias Osanna, repeated Many canonic movements	Orchestral solo moments, poetic imagery	Kyrie – double choir
Rheinberger 1867 (Eb)		Quam olim, double canon		For a cappella double choirs Wrote two other Requiems

Information compiled from Robert Chase, *Dies Irae: A Guide to Requiem Music,* and from individual scores.

APPENDIX C

IDENTIFICATION OF ELEMENTS BY ERA

Included Elements	"Early" 1461-1550 (9)	"High Renaissance" 1550-1640 (27)	"Baroque" 1600-1787 (46)	"Symphonic" 1750-1828 (21)	"Romantic" 1818-1868 (10)
Introit	9	26	39	11	4
Kyrie	9	27	39	8	1
Introit-Kyrie Combined	-	-	5	10	6
Gradual	6	19	15	4	2
Tract	4	6	7	1	-
Sequence	1	8	31	21	9
Offertory	8	27	39	21	10
Sanctus	8	27	40	21	8
Benedictus	-	8	20	16	7
Sanctus-Benedictus	-	-	4	-	1
Agnus Dei	8	27	36	9	3
Communion	8	23	39	9	3
Agnus Dei-Communion	-	-	4	10	6
Responsory	-	8	11	6	2
Other	-	5	14	6	2

"Early" Requiems, 1461-1550

Most commonly used structure
Introit
Kyrie
Offertory
Sanctus
Agnus Dei
Communion

Notes:
1) Two-thirds of the works include a Gradual
2) Almost half include a Tract
3) Only one includes a Sequence

Summary: Six elements are common to the structure, but many also include a Gradual. No movements are combined; these elements functioned as music for specific places in the liturgy.

"High Renaissance" Requiems, 1550-1640

Most commonly used structure
Introit
Kyrie
Offertory
Sanctus
Agnus Dei
Communion

Notes:
1) Two-thirds of the works still include a Gradual
2) Only one-fourth include a Tract
3) One-third of the works now include a Sequence
4) One-third of the works now include a Benedictus
5) One-third of the works now include a Responsory
6) A few works also include other movements, such as an added motet

Summary: The structure remains similar to early requiems, with many still including a Gradual. The Tract begins to diminish in use. The Sequence, Benedictus, and Responsory are included with more frequency; the text was codified in 1570, lending the authority of the Roman Catholic Church to the standard order of texts. Composers often included a motet within the order of service.

"Baroque" Requiems, 1600-1787

Most commonly used structure

Introit
Kyrie
Sequence
Offertory
Sanctus
Agnus Dei
Communion

Notes:

1) A few works include a combined Introit-Kyrie
2) Less than half still include a Gradual
3) Fewer still include a Tract
4) Almost half of the works include a Benedictus
5) A few works include a combined Sanctus-Benedictus
6) A few works include a combined Agnus Dei-Communion
7) One-fourth still include a Responsory
8) More works include other movements

Summary: The Sequence is used with increasingly regularity. Composers manipulate the texts more often, beginning to combine texts into a single movement. The Benedictus is present in over half of the works, sometimes combined with the Sanctus. Composers still include Graduals, but with decreasing regularity; statistically few compose a Tract. Responsories are often included, and there is an increased number of added elements to individual works.

"Symphonic" Requiems, 1750-1828

Most commonly used structure

Introit-Kyrie
Sequence
Offertory
Sanctus
Benedictus
Agnus Dei-Communion

Notes:

1) The Kyrie is sometimes omitted; more often combined with the Introit
2) A few composers still include the Gradual
3) The Sequence-Offertory-Sanctus movements are in every work
4) The Benedictus is now standard
5) The Agnus Dei and Communion are separate or combined movements
6) Almost one-third include a Responsory
7) Other movements are still inserted, including instrumental movements

"Symphonic" Requiems, continued

Summary: The Sequence-Offertory-Sanctus section is the most universal structure, with most continuing into a Benedictus. The Introit-Kyrie and Agnus Dei-Communion outer sections are sometimes separate, sometimes combined into a single movement. While there are still a few Graduals, the Tract has all but disappeared. Responsories and other movements are still common. Composers divided and combined texts at will to create any number of movements within the work.

"Romantic" Requiems, 1818-1868

Most commonly used structure:
Introit-Kyrie
Sequence
Offertory
Sanctus
Benedictus
Agnus Dei-Communion

Notes:
1) The Gradual is rare; the Tract is absent
2) A few composers continue to use the Responsory
3) Other movements are added by a few

Summary: The six-element structure has stabilized, with composers continuing to exercise freedom over combination and division of texts.

Information gathered from Robert Chase, *Dies Irae: A Guide to Requiem Music.*

APPENDIX D

REQUIEM LENGTH AND MOVEMENTS, 1750-1867

Composer/Date	Number of Mvmts	Length of Work	Notes about Movements
Jommelli 1756	13	984 mm.	Te decet not set in 1st mvmt Sequence is 4 movements Texts broken into several movements
J.C. Bach 1757 (unfinished)	16	1052 mm	Linking of Christe and Kyrie II Texts broken into several movements
Gossec 1760	25	2518 mm. 75’	Missing the Kyrie Omits 2 verses of Dies irae Alternate Offertory text Pie Jesu Texts broken into several movements
Zwierzchowski 1760	18	902 mm. 35’	Texts broken into several movements Introit has incomplete text No Christe text in Kyrie Sequence is 6 movements Quam olim repeats Communion is similar to opening movement
M. Haydn 1771	8	950 mm. 42’	Introit-Kyrie linked Sequence is 1 movement Offertory is 2 movements Osanna is repeated
Gassmann 1772-1774 (unfinished)	3	282 mm.	No Christe in the Kyrie movement
Dittersdorf Before 1787	7	416 mm. 28’	Introit and Kyrie separate Sequence is 1 movement Hosanna repeated Agnus Dei-Communion linked Introit Requiem aeternam is repeated
Schmittbaur	9	852 mm.	Kyrie, Te decet, and Communion omitted Sequence is in 3 movements, includes only vv.1-3 and 19
Pleyel 1781-91	15	1018 mm 43’	Sequence is 4 movements
Paisiello 1789	12	1615 mm. 57’	Includes Tract Sequence is 1 movement Includes Responsory
Winter 1790	7	1013 mm.	Introit-Kyrie linked Sequence is 3 movements, some texts are omitted Agnus Dei-Communion linked
Mozart 1791	12	881 mm. 48’	Introit-Kyrie linked Sequence is 6 movements Agnus Dei-Communion linked Introit music returns at end

Composer/Date	Number of Mvmts	Length of Work	Notes about Movements
Eybler 1803	12	1075 mm. 58’	Introit-Kyrie linked Sequence is 5 movements Includes Responsory
Salieri 1804	7	43’	Introit-Kyrie linked Sequence is 1 movement Agnus Dei-Communion linked Includes Responsory
M. Haydn - Bb 1806, unfinished	2		Introit-Kyrie linked
Reicha 1803-09	13	1415 mm. 55’	Introit-Kyrie linked Sequence is 7 movements Agnus Dei-Communion linked
Vogler 1809	8	1473 mm.	Introit-Kyrie linked Sequence is 1 movement Osanna is repeated Includes Responsory
Righini 1810 (fragment)			Communion movement only; Requiem aeternam is repeated
Mayr – Dm	9	538 mm.	Sequence alternates between STB verses & Gregorian chant verses Includes Responsory
Mayr – Gm 1815	16	2153 mm. 90’	Sequence is 8 movements Includes Responsory Libera and Requiem: same music at the end
Nuñez-Garcia 1816 (Dm)	8	742 mm. 35’	Introit-Kyrie linked Includes Gradual Sequence is 1 movement Agnus Dei-Communion linked
Cherubini Cm 1816	7	937 mm. 48’	Introit-Kyrie linked Sequence is 1 movement Pie Jesu Agnus Dei-Communion linked
Bomtempo 1818	8	1728 mm. 60’	Introit-Kyrie linked Sequence is 3 movements Agnus Dei-Communion linked Introit music repeated at end
Tomášek 1820	10	963 mm. 45’	Introit-Kyrie linked Sequence is 3 movements, some texts omitted Agnus Dei-Communion linked Introit material returns at end
Fe. Schubert 1828 (Gm)	7	434 mm.	Introit-Kyrie linked Sequence is 1 movement and is incomplete Offertory is 2 movements Agnus Dei-Communion linked
Cherubini Dm 1834-36	7	972 mm. 47’	Introit-Kyrie linked Sequence is 1 movement Pie Jesu Agnus Dei-Communion linked

Composer/Date	Number of Mvmts	Length of Work	Notes about Movements
Donizetti 1835	16	1539 mm. 64’	Introit-Kyrie linked Includes Graduale; same music as Introit. Sequence is 9 movements Missing Sanctus, Benedictus, and Agnus Dei Includes Responsory
Berlioz 1837	10	1517 mm. 82’	Texts repeated; order of the words occasionally changed Introit-Kyrie linked Sequence is 5 movements Agnus Dei-Communion linked; text abbreviated
Bruckner 1849	10	698 mm. 37’	Introit-Kyrie linked Sequence is 1 movement Offertory is 3 movements Agnus Dei-Communion linked
Schumann 1852	9	743 mm. 39’	Introit and Kyrie separate Sequence is 3 movements Benedictus, Agnus Dei, & Communion combined
Suppé 1855	13	1310 mm. 83’	Introit-Kyrie linked Sequence is 5 movements Osanna is repeated Agnus Dei-Communion linked Includes Responsory
Kiel 1862	12	1046 mm. 55’	Introit and Kyrie separate Sequence is 4 movements Agnus Dei-Communion linked
Rheinberger 1867 (Eb)	8	309 mm.	Introit and Kyrie separate Includes Graduale Omits Sequence

Information compiled from Robert Chase, *Dies Irae: A Guide to Requiem Music,* and from individual scores.

APPENDIX E

EIN DEUTSCHES REQUIEM TEXTS

I. Selig sind

Matthew 5:4	Selig sind die da Leid tragen; denn sie sollen getröstet werden.	Blessed are they who mourn, for they shall be comforted.
Psalm 126:5-6	Die mit Thränen säen, werden mit Freuden ernten.	They who sow in tears shall reap in joy.
	Sie gehen hin und weinen und tragen edlen Samen und kommen mit Freuden und bringen ihre Garben.	They who go forth weeping and bearing precious seed shall come again with joy, bringing their sheaves with them.

II. Denn alles Fleisch

I Peter 1:24	Denn alles Fleisch es ist wie Gras und alle Herrlichkeit des Menschen wie des Grases Blumen. Das Gras ist verdorret und die Blume abgefallen.	For all flesh is as grass, and all the glory of man is as the flower of grass. The grass withers, and its flower falls away.
James 5:7	So seid nun geduldig, lieben Brüder, bis auf die Zukunft des Herrn.	Therefore, be patient, dear brethren, until the coming of the Lord.
	Siehe, ein Ackermann wartet auf die köstliche Frucht der Erde und ist geduldig darüber, bis er empfahe den Morgenregen und Abendregen.	Behold, the husbandman waits for the precious fruit of the earth, and has long patience for it, until he receives the early and late rain.
I Peter 1:25	Aber des Herrn Wort bleibet in Ewigkeit.	But the word of the Lord endures forever.
Isaiah 35:10	Die Erlöseten des Herrn warden wiederkommen, und gen Zion kommen mit Jauchzen; Freude, ewige Freude wird über ihrem Haupte sein; Freude und Wonne werden sie ergreifen und Schmerz und Seufzen wird weg müssen.	The ransomed of the Lord shall return, and will come to Zion with rejoicing: everlasting joy will be on their heads: joy and gladness will be theirs, and sorrow and sighing will flee away.

III. Herr, lehre doch mich

Psalm 39:4-7	Herr, lehre doch mich, daß ein Ende mit mir haben muß, und mein Leben ein Ziel hat und ich davon muß.	Lord, make me to know, that my life must have an end, and the number of my days, that I may know my frailty.
	Siehe, meine Tage sind einer Hand breit vor dir, und mein Leben ist wie nichts vor dir.	Behold, You have made my days as handbreaths, and my age is as nothing before You.
	Ach, wie gar nichts sind alle Menschen, die doch so sicher leben.	Truly, each lifetime is nothing at all, even those who seem secure.
	Sie gehen daher wie ein Schemen, und machen ihnen viel vergebliche Unruhe; sie sammeln und wissen nicht wer es kriegen wird.	They go forward in a vain show, and they are disquieted in vain; heaping up wealth and not knowing whose it will finally be.
	Nun, Herr, wes soll ich mich trösten? Ich hoffe auf dich.	Now, Lord, what do I wait for? My hope is in You.
Wisdom 3:1	Der Gerechten Seelen sind in Gottes Hand und keine Qual rühret sie an.	The souls of the righteous are in the hand of God and there no torment shall touch them.

IV. Wie lieblich

Psalm 84:2-3, 5	Wie lieblich sind deine Wohnungen, Herr Zebaoth!	How lovely is thy dwelling place, Lord of Hosts!
	Meine Seele verlanget und sehnet sich nach den Vorhöfen des Herrn; mein Leib und Seele freuen sich in dem lebendigen Gott.	My soul longs and yearns for the courts of the Lord: my flesh and my soul are joyful in the living God.
	Wohl denen, die in deinem Hause wohnen, die loben dich immerdar.	Blessed are they who live in thy house, they praise you forever.

V. Ihr habt nun Traurigkeit

John 16:22	Ihr habt nun Traurigkeit; aber ich will euch wiedersehen, und euer Herz soll sich freuen, und eure Freude soll niemand von euch nehmen.	You now have sorrow: but I will see you again, and your heart will rejoice, and your joy no one will take from you.
Ecclesiasticus (Sirach) 51:35	Sehet mich an; ich habe eine kleine Zeit Mühe und Arbeit gehabt, und habe großen Trost gefunden.	See with your eyes, I labored but a little time, and found for myself much rest.
Isaiah 66:13	Ich will euch trösten, wie einen seine Mutter tröstet.	I will comfort you, as one whom his mother comforts.

VI. Denn wir haben

Hebrews 13:14	Denn wir haben hie keine bleibende Statt, sondern die zukünftige suchen wir.	For here we have no lasting place, but we seek one to come.
I Corinthians 15:51-52, 54-55	Siehe, ich sage euch ein Geheimnis: Wir werden nicht alle entschlafen, wir werden aber alle verwandelt werden; und dasselbige plötzlich, in einem Augenblick, zu der Zeit der letzten Posaune.	Behold, I tell you a mystery: we will not all sleep, but we will all be changed, in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the time of the last trumpet.
	Denn es wird die Posaune schallen, und die Toten werden auferstehen unverweslich, und wir werden verwandelt werden.	For the trumpet will sound, and the dead will be raised incorruptible, and we will be transformed.
	Dann wird erfüllet werden das Wort, das geschrieben steht: Der Tod ist verschlungen in den Sieg. Tod, wo ist dein Stachel? Hölle, wo ist dein Sieg?	Then will be fulfilled from the Word, that which is written there: Death is devoured in victory. Death, where is your sting? Hell, where is your victory?
Revelation 4:11	Herr, du bist würdig zu nehmen Preis und Ehre und Kraft; denn du hast alle Dinge erschaffen und durch deinen Willen haben sie das Wesen und sind geschaffen.	Lord, You are worthy to receive praise and honor and power: for You have created all things, and by Your will they were created and have their being.

VII. Selig sind die Toten

Revelation 14:13	Selig sind die Toten, die in dem Herrn sterben, von nun an.	Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord from now on.
	Ja der Geist spricht, daß sie ruhen von ihrer Arbeit; denn ihre Werke folgen ihnen nach.	Yes says the Spirit, that they will rest from their labor; and their deeds will follow them.

Translations adapted from Maria Patricia O'Connor, *"An Adornian interpretation of Brahms' German requiem"* and Robert Chase, *Dies Irae: A Guide to Requiem Music,* using Collins *German Concise Dictionary,* fourth edition.

APPENDIX F

LECHNER TEXT

Deutsche Spruch von Leben und Tod (German Sayings on Life and Death)
Leonhard Lechner (c.1553-6606)

Alles auf Erden stets mit Gefährden des Falls, sich wendet, hin und her ländet.	Everything on earth is always in danger of Adam's fall from grace; here and there, a body is brought forth.
Auch Sonn, Mond, Sterne, Wittrng bewahren samt den Jahrzeiten Unbständigkeiten.	The sun, moon, stars and weather, prove as true, along with the seasons, this instability.
Wir Menschen reisen gleich armen Waisen die sind mit Sorgen ungwiss wo morgen.	We humans travel like poor orphans, burdened with grief, uncertain about tomorrow.
Heint Frisch, wohlmächtig, gsund, schön und prächtig, morgen verdorben und gestorben.	This night (we are) fresh, powerful, healthy, beautiful and lovely, tomorrow, spoiled and dead.
In Gottes Handen alls steht zu enden; sein wir geduldig, erwarten schuldig.	At the end, all is in God's hands, therefore be we patient, expect to be found guilty.
Gedenke mitnichten, dich bständig zrichten in die Welt gfahrlich, drin nichts beharrlich.	Do not think, be upright in the dangerous world; therein is nothing constant.
Wenn sich erschwinget das Gluck, dir glinget, tu nit drauf bauen, ihm zviel vertrauen.	If good fortune and success arises, don't depend upon it; do not trust in it too much.
So uberfallen dich Trübsals Qualen, sei nit kleinmutig, murrend, ungültig.	So the torment of distress falls upon you, be not faint-hearted, nor grumble, nor take it amiss.
Was jetzt im laufen liegt bald zu haufen, das sich schicken all Augenblicken.	What now, in life's course, is soon to be heaped-up, will come to pass in an instant.

Weil dann so unstet, dies Schiff der Welt geht, so last uns denken wohin zu lenken.	Because the Ship of the World is so changeable, let us consider where to navigate.
Wir wöllen kehrten zu Gott dem Herren, uns nach sein Gfallen richten in allem.	Would we turn to the Lord God, so that we follow His will.
Ihn fürchten lieben, sein Wort stet üben, er wird erbarmen sich unser Armen. Sein Gnad und Güten wird uns behuten, trösten entbinden von unsern Sünden.	Love Him in fear; Follow His word. He will have mercy upon us poor. His mercy and goodness will preserve and console us, it will free us from our sins.
Sein Hand wird retten aus allen Noten, wir leben, sterben – jetzt nit verderben.	His hands will save us from all suffering. We live and die – we will not spoil.
Nach diesem Leiden, er ewig Freuden uns schenkt ohnfehlig. Dann sind wir selig.	After this suffering, He will send, without fail, eternal joy. Then we are blessed.

From Robert Chase, *Dies Irae: A Guide to Requiem Music*, pp.528-529.

APPENDIX G

HEBBEL TEXT

Requiem by Friedrich Hebbel (1813-1863)

Seele, vergiss Sie nicht,	O soul, forget them not,
Seele, vergiss nicht die Toten!	Soul, forget not the dead!
Sieh', Sie umschweben dich,	See, they are suspended around you,
schauernd verlassen,	shuddering and alone,
und in den heiligen Gluten,	and in the holy glow
die den Armen die Liebe schürt,	for the poor ones love is stirred up,
atmen Sie auf und erwarmen,	they breathe and warm up,
und geniessen zum letzten Mal	and enjoy for the last time
ihr verglimmendes Leben.	the glow of life.
Seele, vergiss Sie nicht,	O soul, forget them not,
Seele, vergiss nicht die Toten!	Soul, forget not the dead!
Und wenn du dich ihnen verschliessest,	And if you close off your mind,
so erstarren Sie bis hinein in das Tiefste.	so too will they stiffen to their utmost depths.
Dann ergreift Sie der Sturm der Nacht	Then they are seized by the storm of the night
dem Sie zusammengekrampft	they who are desperate together
in sich trotzten im Schoss der Liebe.	themselves defiant in the lap of love.
Und er jagt Sie mit Ungestüm	And it hunts them impulsively
durch die endlose Wüste hin,	through the endless desolation,
wo nicht Leben mehr ist,	where life is no more,
nur Kampf losgelassener Kräfte	only the struggle of released strength
neuerneuertes Sein.	that seeks renewed being.
Seele, vergiss Sie nicht,	O soul, forget them not,
Seele, vergiss nicht die Toten.	Soul, forget not the dead.

Translation adapted from Robert Chase, *Dies Irae: A Guide to Requiem Music*, using Collins *German Concise Dictionary,* fourth edition.

APPENDIX H

REQUIEM POETRY

Requiem
Emily Dickinson (date unknown)

Taken from men this morning,
Carried by men to-day,
Met by the gods with banners
Who marshalled her away.

One little maid from playmates,
One little mind from school,--
There must be guests in Eden;
All the rooms are full.

Far as the east from even,
Dim as the border star, --
Courtiers quaint, in kingdoms,
Our departed are.

Requiem
Robert Louis Stevenson (pub. 1887)

UNDER the wide and starry sky
Dig the grave and let me lie:
Glad did I live and gladly die,
And I laid me down with a will.

This be the verse you grave for me:
Here he lies where he long'd to be;
Home is the sailor, home from sea,
And the hunter home from the hill.

Shiloh: A Requiem (April 1862)
Herman Melville (1866)

Skimming lightly, wheeling still,
The swallows fly low
Over the field in clouded days,
The forest-field of Shiloh —
Over the field where April rain
Solaced the parched ones stretched in pain
Through the pause of night
That followed the Sunday fight
Around the church of Shiloh —
The church so lone, the log-built one,
That echoed to many a parting groan
And natural prayer
Of dying foemen mingled there —
Foemen at morn, but friends at eve —
Fame or country least their care:
(What like a bullet can undeceive!)
But now they lie low,
While over them the swallows skim,
And all is hushed at Shiloh.

APPENDIX I

REQUIEM FÜR MIGNON TEXT

Goethe, setting by Robert Schumann

Wen bringt ihr uns zur stillen Gesellschaft?	CHORUS: Who are you bringing into our silent gathering?
Einen müden Gespielen bringen wir euch; Lasst ihn unter euch ruh'n bis das Jauchzen himmlischer Geschwister ihn der einst wieder aufweckt!	BOYS: We bring you a weary playmate; let her rest amongst you until such time as the joyous cries of her heavenly siblings should awaken her.
Erstling der Jugend in unserm Kreise, Sie willkommen! mit Trauer willkommen! Dir folge kein Knabe, kein Mädchen nach! Nur das Alter nahe sich willig und gelassen Der stillen Halle, und in ernster Gesellschaft ruhe das liebe, liebe Kind, das liebe Kind!	CHORUS: First of youth to enter our midst, welcome! welcome with sadness! Let no boy or girl follow upon you! Let old age alone approach the silent hall, willingly and calmly, and let the dear, dear child rest in our midst!
Ach! wie ungern brachten wir ihn her! Ach! und er soll hier bleiben! Lasst uns auch bleiben, lasst uns weinen an seinem Sarge! Ach! wie ungern brachten wir ihn her!	BOYS: Ah! how unhappily we have brought her here! Ah! and here she should remain! Let us remain, too, let us cry, cry beside her coffin! Ah! how unhappily we have brought her here!
Seht die mächtigen Flügel doch an! Seht das leichte, reine Gewand! Wie blinkt die gold'ne Binde vom Haupt! Seht die schöne, würdige Ruh'! Seht das reine Gewand!	CHORUS: Look at the mighty wings! Look at the robe, light and pure! How the golden band shines from her brow! Look at her lovely, dignified peace! Look at the pure robe!

Ach! die Flügel heben sie nicht; im leichten Spiele flattert es nicht mehr! Als wir mit Rosen kränzten ihr Haupt, blickte sie hold und freundlich nach uns, blickte sie hold und freundlich nach uns! Ach! die Flügel heben sie nicht! Seht die mächtigen Flügel doch an!	BOYS: Ah! the wings do not lift her; her robe no longer flutters in lighthearted play; when we wreathed her brow with roses she looked upon us, sweet and friendly, looked upon us, sweet and friendly! Ah! the wings do not lift her! Look at the mighty wings!
Schaut mit den Augen des Geistes hin an! In euch lebe die bildende Kraft, Die, das Schönste, das Höchste, hinauf über die Sterne das Leben trägt. Schaut hin an! mit den Augen des Geistes hin an!	CHORUS: Look with the eyes of the spirit! let the formative strength live within you that bears life, the most beautiful, the supreme, upward and beyond the stars. Look there! With the eyes of the spirit!
Aber ach! wir vermissen sie hier, In den Gärten wandelt sie nicht; sammelt der Wiese Blumen nicht mehr. Lasst uns weinen, wir lassen sie hier!	BOYS: But ah! we miss her here, no longer does she walk in the gardens and gather the flowers of the meadow. Let us cry, we leave her here! let us cry and remain with her!
Kinder, kehret in's Leben zurück! Eure Tränen trockne die frische Luft, Die um das schlängelnde Wasser spielt. Entflieht der Nacht! Tag und Lust und Dauer ist der Lebendigen Los!	CHORUS (Bass, in Schumann's setting): Children! return to life! Let the fresh air that dallies about the twirling water dry your tears. Flee the night! Day and joy and duration is the lot of the living.
Auf, wir kehren in's Leben zurück! Gebe der Tag uns Arbeit und Lust, Bis der Abend uns Ruhe bringt Und der Schlaf uns erquickt.	BOYS: Onwards, we return to life. Let the day give us labor and joy until evening brings us peace and nocturnal sleep refreshes us.

	CHORUS.
Kinder! Eilet in's Leben hin an! In der Schönheit reinem Gewande Begegne euch die Liebe mit himmlischen Blick Und dem Kranz der Unsterblichkeit!	Children! hurry on to life! Let Love, in the pure gown of Beauty, greet you with celestial gaze and the wreath of immortality!
Auf! wir kehren in's Leben zurück! Auf! Wir vermissen sie hier.	Onward! We return to life! Onward! We miss her here.

Translation adapted from Bradford Robinson, *"Robert Schumann. Requiem für Mignon,"* using Collins *German Concise Dictionary,* fourth edition.

APPENDIX J

ROMANTIC ERA REQUIEMS

Date	Composer	Title	Form/structure	Work notes	Text notes
1867	Rheinberger, Joseph	Requiem	imitative polyphonic style, concertato writing, fugues; independent orchestral accompaniment	published in 1869; in 1872, dedicated to those who perished in the German War of 1870-71	Liturgical text
1868	Liszt, Franz	Requiem	for male voices; predominantly chordal, passages in concertato fashion	General style conforms to ideals of Caecelian Movement	Liturgical text
1868	Collaborative	Mass for Rossini	musical guidelines by Verdi achieve stylistic, tonal, and dramatic unity. Four fugues, concertato setting of Sanctus; virtuoso solo writing	suggested by Verdi; commemorating Rossini	Liturgical text; sequence is 7 movements out of 13 Responsory by Verdi (used in Manzoni Requiem)
1874	Verdi, Giuseppe	Requiem to the memory of Alessandro Manzoni	operatic; soloists parts are like roles, with character traits. Stile antico expressed through prelude and fugue, four-part fugue, and fughetta	dedicated to Alessandro Manzoni. Verdi most likely agnostic.	Latin text, word order rearranged; includes repetition of *Dies irae* text; includes Responsory.
1878	Saint-Saëns, Camille	Requiem	quiet and lyrical, concertato style, recitative; sighing thematic motive		Liturgical text
1880	Bottesini, Giovanni	Requiem in C minor	typical of Italian grand opera, soloists play a major role		Liturgical text
1880	Draeseke, Felix	Requiem in B minor	harmonic style is late romantic; fugues, canons, a chaconne, polyphonic writing	performed at a Wagner Memorial Service in Leipzig, May 1883	Liturgical text; Sequence is one movement in several sections
1888	Fauré, Gabriel	Requiem		written in 1888; Offertory added in 1889; Libera me added in 1892	Latin text, no *Dies Irae* or *Benedictus*, added *Pie Jesu* and *In Paradisum*

Date	Composer	Title	Form/structure	Work notes	Text notes
1890	Dvořak, Antonin	Requiem Mass	four-note chromatic theme like Leitmotiv, present in nearly every movement	written for Birmingham Festival; conceived as a grand oratorio	13 movements, 2 parts; traditional text; numerous text repetitions; includes a repetition of the *Dies irae* text
1893	Gounod, Charles	Requiem in C major	practical-usage setting; closer to ideals of Caecilian Movement	written for his grandson	Liturgical text
1895	Sgambati, Giovanni	Messa da Requiem	two fugues, concertato principle used on fragments of Gregorian chant or chant-like melodies	student of Liszt	Liturgical text later paired with a motet (texts from Job), inserted after Sanctus. Includes Responsory.
1897	Stanford, Charles Villiers	Requiem	Use of Leitmotiv, fugues, imitative writing, concertato style	written in memory of a close friend	Liturgical text; repetition of the *Dies irae* text
1900	Rheinberger, Joseph	Requiem in D minor	designed for liturgical usage; little imitative polyphony, lyrical	considered the best of his four settings	Liturgical text; *Dies irae* omitted
1901	Henschel, Sir George	Requiem (Missa pro Defunctis)	fugues, canonic writing, concertato style	in memory of his wife	Liturgical text; repetition of the *Dies irae* text

Information gathered from Robert Chase, *Dies Irae: A Guide to Requiem Music;* Theodore Karp and Basil Smallman, et al, "Requiem Mass," *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*; Roger Parker. "Verdi, Giuseppe," *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*; Alec Robertson, *Requiem: Music of Mourning and Consolation*, and individual scores.

APPENDIX K

PRE-1950 REQUIEMS

Date	*Composer*	*Title*	*Form/Foundations*	*Work notes*
1914	**Delius,** Frederic	Requiem (Delius referred to it as his 'Pagan Requiem')	Anti-war; opposed to the principles of institutional religion.	Dedicated 'To the memory of all young Artists fallen in the War.'
Text:	Original German text by Heinrich Simon, pantheistic beliefs, courage in the sight of death and consolation in nature's cycles. I. Our days here are as one day – a non-Christian, naturalistic (Darwinian) view of mortality. II. Hallelujah-La, il Allah – women sing the Christian 'Hallelujah', men sing the Islamic 'La, il Allah'; text is about impending war/death. III. My beloved – Ecclesiastes; a love sonnet IV. I honor – a pantheistic version of Adam and Eve. Equating darkness with death; Man being welcomed back by nature. V. The snow – a song of ever-returning spring and the rebirth of life.			
1915	**Hristič,** Stevan	*Opelo* in b minor (a Serbian Orthodox Requiem)	does not employ traditional orthodox chants; original composition	dedicated to those who died during WWI
Text:	Similar to the Russian Orthodox *Panikhida*, except Serbian composers exhibit more freedom of choice in selecting the texts to set in polyphonic style.			
1915	**Davies,** Henry Walford	Short Requiem	most movements are short, homophonic motets	dedicated to "all those who have fallen in the war"
Text:	Texts taken from the *Book of Common Prayer* and the Latin mass Salvator Mundi: O Saviour of the World De Profundis: Out of the deep Requiem aeternam Levavi Oculos: I will lift mine eyes Requiem aeternam Audi Vocem: I heard a voice…Blessed are the dead Hymn: Mors ultra non erit: No more to sigh Gloria Patri: Glory to the Father Vox ultima Crucis: Tarry no longer			
1915	**Reger,** Max	Hebbel Requiem		written in memory of soldiers dying in WWII
Text:	Text is taken from Friedrich Hebbel's poem, *"Requiem."* (See Appendix F)			
1916	**Kastalsky,** Alexander	Fraternal Commemoration	liturgical melodies from a number of European nations	one of the earliest 'War' requiems, in memory of those who died in WWI
Text:	Follows traditional requiem structure; interweaves traditional tunes and musical materials from various cultures. Nearly all movements include three textual versions: Latin (or Greek), Russian, and English; first movement includes an Italian text.			

Date	*Composer*	*Title*	*Form/Foundations*	*Work notes*
1921	**Kaun,** Hugo	Requiem nach Worten der Heiligen Schrift	homophonic with occasional imitative polyphony; solos play important role	
Text:	I. Alles was auf dem Erde kommt (Everything that comes from earth) II. Herr, sieh an unsere Schmach (Lord, look upon our disgrace) III. Alles ist eitel (All is vain) IV. Wie liegt dei Stadt (How empty lies the city) V. Meine Zuversicht (My confidence) …O Lord, let me know my end and the measure of my days VI. Das ist ein kostlich Ding (It is a precious thing) VII. O Tod, wie bitter bist du (O Death, how bitter art Thou)			
1923	**Foulds,** John	A World Requiem	not liturgical; an enormous civic oratorio	inspired by WWI; composed "in memory of the war dead of all nations" Foulds wanted the work performed in a cathedral or any other consecrated building
Text:	<u>Part 1</u> I. Requiem aeternam: requiem text; three lines to WWI dead; passage from Psalm 23 II. Pronuntiatio: The heathen raged – poetic equivalent of Dies irae. Biblical passages/personal texts III. Confessio: Lo, this is God – Prayer of confession IV. Jubilatio: Praise Him/Blessed art Thou – Prayer of Azariah, 1:29-68 (Apocrypha) – praise V. Audite – addresses followed by a plea/admonition for peace; scriptures about peace VI. Pax: Peace I leave with you. Scriptures about peace VII. Consolatio: The Lord is night. About comfort VIII. Refutatio: O death. Refuting the power of death IX. Lux Veritas: I am the light. Scriptures about light X. Requiem: Thy Light perpetual. Includes Revelation 14:13 <u>Part 2</u> I. Laudamus – texts from Psalms and others, ends with Praise. II. Elysium: Holy, Holy, Holy ostinato with poetic text: life after war and land of the blessed III. In Pace: I heard the voice/The Father hath redeemed IV. Angeli: Behold, under the firmament –angels watching V. Vox Dei: And behold/This is my beloved VI. Adventus: And behold – the coming of Christ VII. Vigilate: Watch ye – watch for the coming of Christ VIII. Promissio et Invocatio: Eternal life through Christ IX. Benedictio – orchestral X. Consummatus: He hath blessed us – poetry with Alleluia			
1936	**Howells,** Herbert	Requiem	follows Anglican rite; predominantly polyphonic	
Text:	Requiem aeternam with texts from the *Rite of Common Prayer* Salvator Mundi: O Saviour of the World Psalm 23: The Lord is my Shepherd Requiem aeternam Psalm 121: I will lift up mine eyes Requiem aeternam Hymnus paradisi: I heard a voice…blessed are the dead			

Date	*Composer*	*Title*	*Form/Foundations*	*Work notes*
1938	**Micheelsen,** Hans Friedrich	Tod und Leben: Ein deutsches Requiem		
Text:	incorporates various prayers, fragments of Psalm 90, *Lord, hast been our refuge*, and Psalm 126, *Those who sow in tears*, and the first verse of the folksong *Er ist ein Schnitter, der heist Tod* (There is a reaper, called Death), composed in 1638. Includes Sanctus-like text, Heilig…ending in Kyrie eleison; Just like a grass will soon wither; help us to know; *Ihr habt nun Traurigkeit;* behold I tell you a mystery; Death, where is thy victory?			
1940	**Vycpálek**, Ladislav	České requiem 'Smrt a spasení' [Czech Requiem 'Death and Redemption']		humanist, nonliturgical
Text:	text from Dies Irae, Psalms, Lazarus story, Ecclesiastes, and a medieval Czech hymn Movement 1 I. Vanity of Vanities – the transitory nature of life and ultimate death that awaits all II. What does man gain III. For everything there is – Ecclesiastes 3 IV. And I thought – the futility of life V. My face is red – a summation of the human condition VI. My strength is dried up – value of our transitory existence Movement 2 – The Day of Wrath I. Dies irae (in Czech translation; translated by the composer) Movement 3 – A Light in the Darkness. A Psalm Intermezzo I. How long, O Lord II. I stretch out my hand III. If I lift my eyes IV. How long, O Lord V. Attend to me VI. Enter into thy tent Movement 4 I. He came to save – the raising of Lazarus; positive faith and a mood of exaltation			
1940	**Britten,** Benjamin	Sinfonia da Requiem	Instrumental work	dedicated to the memory of his parents
Text:	Three movements titled after texts from the Latin mass I. Lacrymosa: "a burden of lamentation and protest" II. Dies irae: "a frenzied 'dance of death'" III. Requiem Aeternam: "a gesture of consolation and peace"			
1943	**Hanson,** Howard	Symphony #4, Op. 34, 'Requiem'		
Text:	The movements are titled after texts from the Latin mass I. Kyrie II. Requiescat III. Dies irae IV. Lux aeterna			
1945	**Zeisl,** Eric	Requiem Ebraico: The 92nd Psalm (Hebrew Requiem)	One-movement composition, five large sections; polyphonic, concluding four-part fugue	
Text:	A Mourner's Kaddish, a prayer in which the Lord is glorified and sanctified			

Date	*Composer*	*Title*	*Form/Foundations*	*Work notes*
1947	**Duruflé,** Maurice	Requiem	Blend of Gregorian chant and French impressionism	Spiritual outlook tempered by kindness and belief in a more gentle view of the Last Judgment
Text:	Liturgical; lacks the *Dies irae* Includes *Pie Jesu* and *In Paradisum*			
1948	**Hindemith,** Paul	When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloomed: A Requiem 'For those we love.'	Secular requiem, philosophical. Quotes the Jewish melody *Gaza*, from which he derives themes	American Civil War/assassination of Abraham Lincoln; Parallel drawn between poetry and WWII and death of Franklin Roosevelt.
Text:	I. Introduction – orchestral prelude II. When lilacs – a lament for the one who has died III. Arioso: In the swamp – a poem about a bird singing IV. March: Over the breast – the journey of the coffin V. O western orb – reflection on the relationship with deceased VI. Arioso: Sing on –continue to sing, even through grieving VII. Song: O how shall I warble – a personal lament VIII. Introduction and fugue: With the fresh sweet herbage – vignette and panorama of America. IX. Soli and Duet: Sing on – grief and hope X. Death Carol: Come, lovely and soothing death –determined to face death and to salute/sing appropriately XI. Solo: To the tally of my soul – war poetry, those left behind XII. Finale: Passing the visions –moving on			
1948	**Mauersberger,** Rudolf	Dresdner Requiem	A concert version of the Evangelical Lutheran Church memorial service; a German requiem and a 'war' requiem.	inspired by WWII
Text:	Biblical texts and Evangelical German church hymns; liturgical texts are set in paraphrase and free translation. Includes Revelation 14:13 – Blessed are the dead); In the world you have fear (John 16:33), Sanctus – German version (Heilig), O du Lamm Gottes (chorale) – Agnus Dei			

Information gathered from Keith Anderson, *Benjamin Britten (1913-1976), Sinfonia da Requiem, Four Sea Interludes and Passacaglia from Peter Grimes*; Capella Gabrieli. *Tod und Leben, Micheelsen;* Robert Chase, *Dies Irae: A Guide to Requiem Music;* Richard Freed, *Sinfonia da Requiem, Op. 20*; Giselher Schubert, "Hindemith, Paul," in *Grove Music Online*; John Tyrrell, "Vycpálek, Ladislav," in *Grove Music Online*; and individual scores.

APPENDIX L

POST-1950 REQUIEMS

Date	*Composer*	*Title*	*Form/Foundations*	*Work notes*
1955	**Rorem,** Ned	The Poets' Requiem		
Text:	Texts compiled by Paul Goodman Movements: Kafka, Rilke, Cocteau, Mallarmé, Freud, Goodman, Gide, Rilke			
1958	**Thompson,** Randall	Requiem for Unaccompanied Double Chorus	Much of the work is a dialogue between the choir of the Faithful (choir I) and the choir of the Mourners (choir II)	
Text:	Texts extracted from seventeen books of the Bible (Old and New Testaments and the Apocrypha) Part I: Lamentations Part II: The Triumph of Faith Part III: The Call to Song Part IV: The Garment of Praise Part V: The Leave-Taking			
1960	**Thompson,** Virgil	Requiem Mass	bi-tonal; explores whole tone harmony and melody; employs melodic, chordal, and rhythmic canons	
Text:	Liturgical text			
1961	**Britten,** Benjamin	War Requiem	transparent textures, polyphonic writing, recitative-like melodies, concertato techniques	dedicated to four friends lost during WWII
Text:	Latin Mass interspersed with poems by Wilfred Owen Includes *Pie Jesu* and *In Paradisum*			
1963	**Kabalevsky,** Dmitry	War Requiem	musical style adheres to the principles of socialist realism; homophonic textures, rarely uses imitative writing, dramatic solos	Kabalevsky acted as spokesman for the communist party and its musical policies
Text:	Text conforms to standards acceptable to the Communist authorities Thirteen movements in three parts Themes include Homeland, Fate, patriotism, unknown soldier; future; life goes on; common fate; eternal glory to the heroes; remember No requiem text, no requiem form			
1963	**Josephs,** Wilfred	Requiem		a setting of the Kaddish
Text:	Text is the mourner's prayer for the deceased. Four movements are instrumental pieces			
1965	**Ligeti,** György	Requiem	use of aleatoric counterpoint; structure of *Kyrie* based on fugue; canonic textures	
Text:	Liturgical; word-painting employed Introit, *Kyrie,* and Sequence			

Date	*Composer*	*Title*	*Form/Foundations*	*Work notes*
1965	**Barbe,** Helmut	Requiem	atonal, pointillistic writing	
Text:	German text, three movements I. Introit – Lord, give them eternal peace and let eternal light upon them shine…Therefore are we joyful…Those that sow in tears shall reap in great joy… II. Apokalypse – They shall no longer hunger or thirst…For the Lamb guides and leads them to the living waters…And God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes III. In Paradisum – May the angelic choirs lead you into Paradise…The angel's choir will surround you, and with Lazarus, give to you the eternal peace of God			
1968	**Fišer,** Luboš	Requiem	opens with dramatic solo; employs turba chorus	
Text:	Liturgical text, truncated in parts; *Libera me* extended			
1969	**Lewin,** Frank	Mass for the Dead	writing is simple and direct, sometimes includes congregational participation	dedicated to the memory of Robert F. Kennedy
Text:	setting is possibly the first concert requiem setting of the Latin mass in English Lord's Prayer inserted after Sanctus; returns after *Libera me.* Includes *In Paradisum.*			
1969	**Tavener,** John	Celtic Requiem		links liturgy, poetry and children's games in a stage performance.
Text:	Libretto gathered from several sources: the *missa pro defunctis,* a poem of St. Blathmac, Henry Vaughan, Cardinal Henry Newman, and many children's singing games and nonsense rhymes. Much of the text is presented simultaneously, in 'collagelike' passages.			
1970	**Sessions,** Roger	When Lilacs last in the Dooryard Bloomed		Whitman's poem symbolizing Lincoln, representing King and Kennedy.
Text:	I. When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloomed II. Over the Breast of the Spring III. Now While I Sat in the Day			
1972	**Bresgen,** César	Deutsche Totenmesse	melodies have chant-like quality; harmony is modern, modal, and spare; polyphonic writing. Constantly changing meter reminiscent of *Carmina Burana;* several instrumental movements	
Text:	poetry and Psalm texts. 8 movements: I. Introit – Ich steh vor dir (I stand before Thee); poetry II. Zwischengesang – Der Herr had mich gesehn (The Lord has seen me through); poetry III. Die mit Tränen säen (Those who sow in tears) – Psalm 126 IV. Heilig, Heilig (poetry derived from traditional Sanctus) V. Die Seelen der Gerechten (from Proprium Messarum de Sanctis; in German) – The souls of the righteous are in God's hand VI. Niemand lebt fur sich selbst (poetry). No one lives only for himself VII. Lasst uns nun gehn in Frieden (poetry, based on Song of Solomon); Let us depart in peace VIII. Postludium (instrumental)			

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1979	**Baštiks,** Viktors	Rekviems	in Latvian	
Text:	I. Prayer (Psalm 90:1-12) II. A Breath of Wind (Psalm 39) III. The Garden of Peace (Zacharias 44, 10:11, 14) IV. Peace with words from poetry V. Blessed are they (Revelations 14:13, John 14:2, 11:25) VI. I reveal unto you (I Corinthians 15:51-55, 57) VII. I saw the Heavens (Revelations 21:1-4) VIII. O, Lord, who will go (Psalm 15) IX. I know my Redeemer lives (Job 19:25-26) X. The Lord's Prayer (Matthew)			
1981	**Victory,** Gerard	Ultima Rerum: Requiem Cantata		Humanist/ philosophical
Text:	traditional Latin requiem text, as well as other poetry from such sources as the Koran, the Norse *Edda*, Navaho Indian chant, and poetry of William Blake, James Elroy Flecker, Giacomo Leopardi, Alfred Tennyson, and Walt Whitman.			
1982	**Gagneux,** Renaud	Requiem	Musical language from impressionism, Gregorian chant, Hebrew chant, Russian orthodox melody, the Lutheran chorale, and the twentieth century avant-garde	Incorporates a ecumenical elements characteristic of Judaism, Islam, Christianity (bell carillon), and Shinto (percussion instruments), creating a spirit of universality
Text:	Liturgical; texts sung, hissed, and spoken; humming employed			
1984	**Stevens,** James	Celebration for the Dead: A Buddhist Requiem		a salute to life and a gesture of honor to the dead
Text:	a setting of the Lotus Sutra			
1985	**Rutter,** John	Requiem		
Text:	employs more texts from the Latin rite that from the Anglican *Book of Common Prayer* Introit: Requiem aeternam Psalm 130: Out of the deep Pie Jesu Sanctus-Benedictus Agnus Dei Psalm 23: The Lord is my Shepherd Communion: I heard a voice…blessed are the dead; Lux aeterna			
1986	**Tavener,** John	The Panikhida		reflects his conversion to Greek Orthodox faith
Text:	A memorial service and part of the Divine Office; music and prayers are for the remission of sins and eternal rest for the deceased			

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1986	**Pehkonen,** Elis	Russian Requiem		commissioned by Birmingham Festival Choral Society
Text:	utilizes portions of the Latin rite, glossed by four other sources: Dante's *Inferno*, The Revelation of St. John the Divine, aphorisms by Lenin and excerpts from Pasternak's *Zhivago's Poems*			
1990	**Gorli,** Sandro	Requiem	choral texture constantly altered; special vocal effects employed including diaphragm accents, throat accents, vowel sounds and combinations, shutting the mouth while singing, and sustaining a variety of consonant sounds	virtuoso, nonliturgical concert setting
Text:	evocative poetry composed by Gorli I. Dead, we are still dying… II. Child, when I die, let me be a child… III. Take me into your arms… IV. Gentle wind V. Father, why hast thou forsaken me? Requiem.			
1990	**Henze**, Hans Werner	Requiem, Nine Sacred Concertos	Instrumental. With the exception 'Ave verum corpus', each movement bears the title of a section of the Requiem Mass	memorial to Michael Vyner
Text:	"Whereas Masses for the Dead normally rely for their effectiveness, at least in part, on the human voice and their Latin words, it is now the instrumentalists who are entrusted with that task: they are expected to *think* the words and assume the function of the singers, empathizing with that role and imitating it on their instruments." – *Henze*			
1991	**Grana,** Edgar	Stones, Time and Elements: a Humanistic Requiem	use of percussion and wind synthesizer; includes canonic passages and rhythmic complexity	
Text:	Features an anti-*Dies irae* text, written by Kurt Vonnegut; a reinterpretation of the original. Counters the harshness and violence of the medieval sequence hymn; violence is replaced by satire and anger by compassion. <u>Part I.</u> The Reading <u>Part II.</u> Stones, Time and Elements I. Rest Eternal – "O Cosmos" – yet I pray II. Day of Wrath III. Structure of awesome majesty IV. Gambler with flesh V. I groan VI. That day will be one VII. O Cosmos VIII. Hosanna IX. Merciful time X. Let not eternal light XI. Postlude (Requiem)			

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1993	**Penderecki,** Krzysztof	Polish Requiem	composed over 13 years, 1980-93	many sections dedicated to individuals or mass martyrs in Polish history
Text:	Title comes from a Polish hymn text inserted into the *Recordare* text Text is sung, spoken, hissed, and shrieked			
1993	**De Mars,** James	American Requiem	Musical language is traditional harmonic tonality, with traces of Renaissance modality and polyphony, harmonies reminiscent of Aaron Copland's 'Americana' pieces, and the rhythms of African-American spirituals	Ecumenical or civic performance
Text:	Several 'American' themes with the Latin requiem text; poetry of Walt Whitman, words of Martin Luther King, Jr., the Yizkor Prayer (*El Mole*), *The Canticle of the Sky – Homage to Native American,* and Psalm 39:4-5. <u>Section 1</u> I. Canticle of the Sky, Homage to Native Americans II. Introit – requiem aeternam; te decet is omitted III. Kyrie <u>Section 2</u> IV. Psalm 39, "The measure of my days." V. Sequence, Dies irae VI. Sequence, Tuba mirum VII. Sequence, Liber scriptus VIII. Sequence, Recordare IX. Sequence, Rex tremendae <u>Section 3</u> X. Dedication, "When lilacs last in the dooryard bloom'd" XI. Sanctus – 'glossed' with lines from MLK's "I have a dream" speech. <u>Section 4</u> XII. Memorial Prayer (El Mole) – grant rest; seek sacred living XIII. Communion – Lux aeterna XIV. Responsory – Libera me/El mole; requiem aeternam			
1993	**Beveridge,** Thomas	Yizkor Requiem	canonic writing; cantor's solo passages are chant-like	dedicated to the memory of his parents
Text:	fused liturgical poetry from the Jewish Yiskor (Memorial) Service and the requiem liturgy: includes the *Kadosh/Sanctus* (movement VI), the *Requiem aeternam/Or zarua* (movement II), and the *Domine Jesu Christe/Baruch ata, Adonai* (movement IV). Two other joined texts are the Lord's Prayer and the Mourner's Prayer (Kaddish). *Psalm 23* (movement III) is used and beloved by both traditions.			

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1995	**Collaborative**	Requiem of Reconciliation		commissioned in Stuttgart to commemorate the 50th anniversary of WWII
Text:	Apart from a Prolog, an Interludium, an Epilog, and an instrumental Communio, follows the usual liturgical requiem text, often rearranged: Prologo: Luciano Berio (Italy) Introitus and Kyrie: Friedrich Cerha (Austria) Sequenz, Dies irae: Paul Heinz Dittrich (Germany) Sequenz, Judex ergo: Marekk Kopelent (Czech Republic) Juste judex: John Harbison (United States) Confutatis: Arne Nordheim (Norway) Interludium: Bernard Rands (England) Offertorium: Marc André Dalbavie (France) Sanctus: Judith Weir (England) Agnus Dei: Krzysztof Penderecki (Poland) Communio: Wolfgang Rihm (Germany) Communio II: Alfred Schnittke (Russia) Responsorium: Joji Yuasa (Japan) Epilog: György Kurtag (Romania)			
1999	**Bingham,** James	Requiem	homophonic with occasional imitative polyphony	Anglican requiem
Text:	Latin text, other texts from Augustine of Hippo and the *Book of Common Prayer* Requiem Out of the Deep (Psalm 130) Pie Jesu Sanctus Agnus Dei, includes All flesh is as the grass, man has a short time to live, whom may we seek, I am the resurrection and the life, I ardently desire your peace. Laudate Dominum I heard a voice, includes Blessed are the dead Lux aeterna			
2001	**Chien**, Nan-Chang	Buddhist Requiem	Based on the Amitabha Sutras, the Chinese chant associated with the ritual of putting loved ones to rest	
Text:	Texts are from the Buddhist liturgy, mantras, including a setting of the Buddhist evening service. No Latin text			
2001	**Adler,** James	Memento Mori: An AIDS Requiem	Fragments of the Gregorian *Dies irae* melody appear in the second movement	
Text:	Glosses on traditional Latin texts of poetry by Quentin Crisp and Bill Weaver as well as texts by Philip Justin Smith and Denise Stokes. The *Yizkor* prayer is employed in the third movement			

Information gathered from Robert Chase, *Dies Irae: A Guide to Requiem Music* and *Memento Mori: A Guide to Contemporary Memorial Music;* David DeVenney, *American Masses and Requiems: A Descriptive Guide;* Hans Werner Henze, *Bohemian Fifths: An Autobiography;* Theodore Karp and Basil Smallman, et al, "Requiem Mass," *Grove Music Online*; Michael Kennedy, ed., *Requiem*, The Oxford Dictionary of Music, 2nd ed; Nancy T. Lu, "Chien Nan-chang comes up with new 'Requiem.' *The China Post*; Adrian Thomas, "Penderecki, Krzysztof," in *Grove Music Online*; and individual scores.